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## *Scotland and the Peace Congress*

The following resolution was passed unanimously at the Trades Union Congress, which was held this year at Ayr:—

“That this Congress demands the establishment of a Scottish Parliament to deal with Scottish national affairs; the neglect of Scottish interests and the growing congestion of public business in the Imperial Parliament render it imperative that Scottish Home Rule should be inaugurated at the earliest possible moment; the problems of reconstruction peculiar to Scotland can best be dealt with by a Scottish Parliament; further, we demand that Scotland as a nation be directly represented at the Peace Conference.”

The Trades Union Congress stands for organised Labour throughout Scotland, and is justly entitled to be considered as representative of the Scottish democracy in general. It is highly satisfactory that the resolution to demand Scottish representation at the Peace Congress should have been unanimously endorsed by the “Labour Parliament” of the country; and now that this has been done, we hope that the important resolution in question will not be allowed

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to moulder in the verbiage wherewith it is clothed, but will be at once taken up and zealously prosecuted, to the end that the demand which it enshrines shall take due effect when the proper season shall come.

We consider these few admonitory observations on our part the more necessary inasmuch as a resolution in favour of "Home Rule" for Scotland has been, for a number of years past, a standing dish at Scottish Trades Union Congresses, though it would appear that little has been done heretofore in order to implement those repeated solemn resolutions; and as good resolutions, when they are not followed by suitable performances, are very apt to render the makers of them somewhat ridiculous, to preserve from that fate friends that might, conceivably, be assailed by it is but natural and proper conduct in those that wish them well.

We hope, therefore, that organised Labour in Scotland will set its shoulder squarely, firmly, and resolutely to the wheel of its Peace Congress Resolution, and consent not to allow that matter to become a dead letter.





## *Political Morality and the Secret Treaties*

*"The lesson which the shock of being taken by surprise in a matter so deeply vital to all the nations of the world has made poignantly clear is that the peace of the world must henceforth depend on a new and more wholesome diplomacy. Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interests, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilisation is at last in the way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established. It is clear that the nations must in future be governed by the same high code of honour that we demand of individuals."*

Thus spoke President Wilson before his country became involved in the war ; and now that the expected has happened, and the United States have joined the well-nigh universal fray, it is as well that Mr. Wilson's pre-war utterances should be occasionally recalled to mind, not only for purposes of general moral refreshment, but for his own present and future guidance in particular. Undoubtedly, the whole passage which we have quoted is weighty in the highest degree, but on the present occasion our preference is for the concluding sentence of it. "It is clear (says the President) that the nations must in future be governed by the same high code of honour that we demand of indi-

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viduals." The implication that the nations have not been governed in the past by the same high code of honour which we are accustomed to demand of individuals would appear to indicate that through the parliament of the President's mind there has already passed an urgent moral reform, at whose adoption by the legislature of political actualities all men of goodwill and sound sense would lift up their hearts and unfeignedly rejoice. The curse of politics is that they are so abominably tricky; the high code of honour which rules, with fluctuating success, the relations of one individual with another is little better than a dead letter, where governance is concerned.

Our references to President Wilson's aspirations in the matter of changing the moral nature of politics give natural rise to some reflections which we propose to make on the subject of governance, considered from the moral point of view. We are accustomed to regard Italy as the true home and fount of modern political science. The efforts of the statesmen of that country to shake off from its shoulders the cruel yoke of the "barbarians" that alternately, and successively, plundered and oppressed it, are commonly thought to have been the true causes of the revival of political learning in Europe. The consolidator of the art or science of governance is declared to be Machiavelli, whose sinister teaching is wont to be insisted on to the complete exclusion of much that this alleged innovator tendered by way of sound, patriotic, and even righteous counsel. Not to go higher in history than is necessary in order to present purposes, we submit that the age of Ferdinand

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of Spain, or Louis XII. of France, had little, if anything, to learn from the author of *The Prince*, by way of state-craft and the cynical practice of systematic knavery. Thus when Machiavelli wrote that "the only safe way to subjugate free cities is to ruin them," and added that "a prince may always find a colourable pretext for breaking his word," these shameful avowals will surprise no one who is at all familiar with the earlier history of European state-craft; and if to some of the political contemporaries of the author of them they appeared shocking in the extreme, the alarm and indignation of these people are to be ascribed rather to the effects of publicity than to the promptings of a superior moral conscience on their part. The maxims which shocked the world when set before it in the abstract were negligible enough so long as they preserved their concrete form as tacitly understood necessities of state-craft. It was publicity that occasioned the out-cry; the indiscretion of Machiavelli consisted in the fact that he drew forth these maxims from the shady seclusion of the cabinets and antechambers of princes, and exposed them, in all the nakedness of their original iniquity, to the gaze of the world.

Neither can it be justly said that the author of *The Prince* was at all singular in respect of his contributions to the formation of a body of political jurisprudence such as rulers in general might find it profitable to adopt. The black wisdom of his age was well understood of his contemporary, Guicciardini, some of whose state maxims are little less flagrantly immoral than those of the pretended arch-innovator himself. "The

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government of States (he declared) cannot be carried on according to conscience, because any one who considers their original must understand that they have all been founded in violence—with the exception of republics in their own country, and not elsewhere." The same authority remarked that princes should "take care not to lead their subjects into the next degree of liberty, since men naturally desire to be free, and no one ordinarily continues content with his position, but everyone always seeks to advance beyond that in which he finds himself"; and in another passage the author of the *History of Florence* extols the art of political lying, proficiency in which he affects to regard as a most useful aid to the complete statesman.

The sixteenth century was, perhaps, more than commonly corrupt in a political way, so far as Italy was concerned, but it would be a mistake of the first importance to believe that Machiavellianism expired with the alleged founder of the science of modern politics. The Italian reputation for state-craft remained high for many years after the fall of the Florentine Republic, and it must be allowed that if the rulers of Europe in general went in any need of the lessons of Machiavelli and his school, at no time since the formation of that sinister academy has it languished for want of exalted and capable pupils. The measures pursued by Frederick the Great and Catherine of Russia were strongly tinged with Machiavellianism; and it would be an easy task to erect a stage crowded with political figures of the first importance whose actions bear unmistakable witness to the prevalence of dishonesty



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among the governing classes of Europe. It is true that maxims of governance such as Machiavelli set forth in his *Prince* are no longer cried from the house-tops ; they have now been retired into the antechambers and cabinets from which that unique professor of political dexterity boldly, if indiscreetly, drew them forth. If any one doubts that it is the growth of hypocrisy, rather than a reformation of hearts, which has led to the change of which we speak, he has but to reflect on the political history of latter-day Europe, which, under the cloak of various high-sounding arrangements, presents just such a scene of intrigue, duplicity, greed, and tyranny as stirred up the author of *The Prince* to formulate his infamous maxims. Moreover, the simple and credulous would do well to reflect that such international Congresses as Europe has witnessed within modern times have been concerned, not with abstract principles of international right and justice, which, in every notable case has provided the tune for the flourish of trumpets that preceded them, but with the distribution of the "booty"—to borrow an apt expression from German *Communiqués*—realised by the wars which gave rise to those gatherings. In fine, the manners, morals, and methods of what the popular school of modern naturalists term "the wild" continue to govern the relations of political man with his own species with a savage intensity little removed from that which characterised his conduct of the same motions before hypocrisy acquired its present astounding vogue. Modern Europe is ruled by a conspiracy of men in iron masks ; the affectation that would pretend that "the same high code of honour that we demand of



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individuals" is in the least degree regarded by the nations in respect of their political relations with one another is fit superstition for a lunatic asylum, but cannot but be despised and ridiculed of all sensible men.

That President Wilson entertains no hallucinations touching the moral character of those "sanctions" on which the existing fabric of political Europe has been raised up is very plain by what he himself has said on that head. His candid recognition of the scandalous state of affairs which obtains to-day is as satisfactory as his promise to use his best endeavours to abolish it is encouraging. A President of the United States, who has behind him the affectionate suffrage of one hundred million people, necessarily constitutes an engine of righteousness of tremendous actual and potential potency. If the principles for which the Allies are fighting are really such as their leading statesmen and their press affirm them to be, it stands to reason that the moral force—always, according to their spokesmen, sufficient unto the maintenance of a complete moral ascendancy over the enemy—wielded by those motives, must now be enormously increased by reason of the American contribution to the common stock of militant righteousness. The United States have entered the war on the most respectable motives: they covet no people's land, and seek but to render the world "safe for democracy." The good of civilisation and the diffusion of the virtues to which mankind is accustomed to render lip-service of the most solemn kind; these are affirmed to be the guiding principles, so far as the prosecution of the war by France, Italy, and

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England are concerned. If, therefore, a gigantic alliance of pious intention such as the one we refer to above does not "make for righteousness" in a very signal manner, and with irresistible force, it should seem that there must be something seriously amiss with the moral mechanism by means of which the regeneration of Christendom is to be effected. It is obvious that in order to the complete rebuilding of the political Jerusalem, the builders who aspire to lay its ethical foundations anew, and thereon to erect enduring palaces for the accommodation of Justice and Truth, must, if they would avoid labouring in vain, proceed on a settled moral plan, and use a common moral tongue. To change our figure, a unity of moral command must be established, to the end that, under the impulse derived from a common ethical generalissimo, the forces of righteousness may press forward to the attack, firm in the belief that they possess all the advantages which are commonly associated to a single and capable command.

Reflections such as these must surely occur to every mind that is in the least degree interested in the moral phenomena to which they relate. That they will appear stale and trite to some is doubtless true enough; but as the common habit of taking things for granted has proved itself to be a pregnant source of existing ills it would be impolitic not to enquire at this conjuncture whether the premises of the gigantic moral *argumentum ad hominem* of which we are treating really are such as common report describes them. Is that unity of moral command, which ought to exist in respect of all action designed to procure the moral

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aims of the Allies, in actual being? For our part, we have no hesitation in saying that it does not subsist. We affirm that the Secret Treaties to which England, France, and Italy have set their hands have fixed a great moral gulf between the governments of those powers and the United States of America, and that nothing short of the fullest and most explicit repudiation of these scandalous instruments can suffice to bridge it over.

We do not think it necessary here to descend into any detail respecting the documents we refer to above. Their history is now matter of common knowledge. Published originally, we believe, in *The Manchester Guardian* in serial form, they have since been collected and republished by various enterprising hands. The version which lies before us as we write is that compiled by *The Herald*, of London, and we take this opportunity of saying that a better could not well be had. In that version the Treaties are set forth in the order in which they occurred, while the comment that accompanies the text of the several documents is sufficiently explanatory of the political circumstances in which they were transacted, besides being informing and penetrating in no common degree.

We imagine that when the Secret Treaties were first published to the world, President Wilson had sore need of all that phlegm with which his many admirers are fond to credit him, in order to prevent himself from crying out, and publicly praying to be saved from his friends. To add deliberate insult to premeditated injury is commonly, and justly, accounted one of the surest ways of yet farther enraging an already

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exasperated enemy, and on the same principle of piling a volcanic Pelion on top of a burning Ossa, we imagine that nothing tends more to fan the flames of a just indignation than consciousness of the fact that the advances of virtue have taken place under circumstances which expose the adventurer of them in a somewhat ridiculous light. Doubtless, these Secret Treaties that have recently passed in a world that Mr. Wilson aspires to purge of their like are no fit subjects of a jest. It is not too much to say that thousands of lives have been sacrificed because of them, and tears and money have been poured out like water ; but, occasionally, grim humour will out in spite of every melancholy circumstance that discourages its indulgence ; and that man who can find nothing amusing in the contrast presented by the professions of Mr. Wilson and the actions of his allies should be difficult to please in the matter of light entertainment. We hasten, however, to add that our own diversion on this occasion is of that solemn sort which some judges affect, who, before they condemn a man to be hanged, will break a mild jest or two with the court.

Certain writers who have discussed the subject of these Secret Treaties have laboured to minimise the inevitable effects of them on the public mind by pleading that some of them have lapsed since the date of their making, while others have now been superseded by understandings that are more in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Wilsonian programme. We are quite prepared to admit the fact of both these soft ameliorations in regard to the original bill of indictment, though it is difficult to understand in what



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moral respect they improve the case of those who are responsible for the Treaties. The moral cause of their offending is plain enough; and excuses founded in accidents that have occurred subsequent to the contraction of the original guilt, or that are based on events obviously tainted with wholesome alarm at the discovery thereof, affect us nothing. Whatever explanations may be adventured with a view to setting the Secret Treaties in a light less sinister than that which suffused them as soon as they came under the cognisance of the public, the fact remains that the Allies have played fast and loose with Mr. Wilson's dearest principles, and that at a time when they were hypocritically going about to honour those principles with their lips, their hearts were full of plots and cabals designed to shew them every contempt, and to flout and outrage them in the most impudent and cynical manner. These Treaties cut at the very root of the Wilsonian precepts, and if they do not stink in the American President's nostrils as much as they must do so in those of every one who honestly desires that "the same moral code should be applied to nations as we are accustomed to demand of individuals," in that event the olfactory nerves of Mr. Wilson's moral being must be a deal less sensitive than he would have us to believe that they are, and than we are desirous to believe that they are, in spite of his silence touching the incriminating documents in question.

Mr. Wilson has set forth a moral programme which, whatever may be the fate that is in store for it, will redound to his own honour and that of his countrymen throughout the ages that are to come. He has re-



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leased principles and enlarged sentiments which stood in urgent need of being raised out of the province of private practice into the infinitely larger, and no less important, sphere of state-craft. For that good work, every lover of justice, and every friend to honesty, owes him thanks. Should he to-morrow belie his professions, and shrink from the impartial application of them, nevertheless it is with gratitude that the democracy of the world would remember his first essays in political virtue, however much they might agree to deplore and execrate the causes of his defection and undoing. For our own parts, however, we are loth to think that any such melancholy fate as we here glance at is in store for the American President. We believe that Mr. Wilson will go manfully forward in the straight and narrow moral path which he has chalked out for himself. His own honour and his own interest are so much engaged thereby that it is unbelievable that he could now so far stultify himself as to abandon in mid-field, as it were, the plough to which he has publicly set his hand. But if personal pride and interest should happen to unite to persuade Mr. Wilson of the supreme folly of deserting principles to which he has committed and dedicated himself with so great solemnity, we acknowledge ourselves ready to believe that selfish considerations of that kind would have no weight with him. We do not think that pique could ever have it in its power to deflect him from a course of whose essential utility he is persuaded, or the knavery of pretended friends discourage him from pursuing a moral goal of whose desirability his powerful mind is convinced.

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Our opinion is, then, that the world in general would do well to compliment and thank the United States on account of that country's gift to humanity of Mr. Wilson. But, in this case at all events, we protest against gratitude being made a mere channel for the indulgence of a sense of favours to come. If Mr. Wilson does his part, doubtless millions (many of whom now are dumb) will rise up and call him blessed; but the world in general also must warmly second his endeavours, if the moral promotion for which we are all looking is to take effect from out the four quarters of the political heavens. There must be a general quickening of the civic spirit—a universal uplifting of the moral political tone—before we can reasonably hope to realise Mr. Wilson's aim, and secure for nations the same moral standard as that statesman asserts we have already procured to the individual. It is plain, therefore, that Mr. Wilson's will remain little better than a counsel of perfection as long as mankind refuses, or delays, those powerful aids by which alone it can be reduced to practice. The sooner society goes about this truly goodly work, the better; even now the iron which Mr. Wilson designs for the soul of man is white in the furnace of current events. It would be foolish not to strike it whilst it remains in that malleable condition.

The immediate obstacles to the realisation of the moral programme which Mr. Wilson has set forth are plainly dishonest instruments of the nature of these Secret Treaties, together with their makers, aiders, and abettors in high places. The first should be undone, and the second destroyed, with all possible speed. The

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Allies should be called on to renounce as many and as much of these abominable understandings as now remain in force, whilst round the necks of the authors of them and their tools and creatures, mill-stones of popular opprobrium should be tied, and they should be cast headlong into the sea of oblivion.

During the continuance of a case which was recently tried in the London law-courts, we heard much about unnatural vice and the psychological manifestations of it in its unhappy victims. The positive as the potential, sodomite was declared to be rampant in the land; and it is as well that the public should clearly understand that political perverts and congenital political knaves, hypocrites, and humbugs constitute yet another formidable menace to modern society, of which it would do well to purge itself with as little ceremony and as little delay as possible. It was claimed for the first, as it may well be urged in behalf of the second, that they cannot help themselves; that they are made in that fashion, and owe their horrid aberrations to circumstances over which they have little or no moral control. For our own parts, we cannot accept these transparently insufficient excuses, though we are quite prepared to admit that a statesman who has been bred and reared in a Machiavellian school may find it no easy matter to get out of it. But, after all, our concern is not so much with these high-placed decadents, as with their unfortunate dupes and bubbles, the democracy, whose sons are sent to the slaughter, and whose money is dissipated like water in order that political villainy may flourish, and deck itself out in stars, and ribbons, and

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garters. Stripped of all its superfluous circumlocutory matter, the task of equalising the standards of political and private morality is really an exceedingly simple affair. That end will be accomplished as soon as the democracy makes up its mind that it will tolerate no dealings that run counter to Mr. Wilson's ideal, and that it will keep no terms with those who are guilty of conduct such as is to be charged upon the makers of these pestiferous Secret Treaties. To shower the freedom of cities, and to honour with party captaincies, men who, did they but receive the deserts due to them on account of their political actions, would be adorning the gallows or "doing time" along with the greatest ruffians in the land, is no way to bring about the necessary reforms which Mr. Wilson has adumbrated. Rather is flippant and inconsistent conduct of that kind calculated to bring the democracy into unmitigated contempt, as well as to encourage with impunity the growth of a breed of statesmen whose political ancestry is the same with that of the chartered tyrants and rascals who trod the stage of sixteenth century statecraft. In fine, so long as the People consents to be governed by men whose code of honour is transparently and flagrantly at variance with that to which the private citizen is expected to conform, just so long will moral practice remain divorced from political precept, and Mr. Wilson's be one of many pious voices crying unheeded and despairingly, in the wilderness of moral endeavour.





## *The Future of the Scottish Labour Party*



THE Labour Party in Scotland is approaching one of the crises in its history. Scottish democracy has come to the parting of the ways, and the future of the working classes of the country will depend in great measure on the policy pursued by our Labour organisations during the critical period of "reconstruction," and on the ideals and aspirations of those who form the advance guard of the army of progress. Never within living memory was there a time when vision and statemanship were more urgently needed on the part of those who aspire to be leaders of Labour. A great opportunity has come to the Labour Party, for, unless all the portents of the times prove misleading, it will be called upon to take a prominent part in the rebuilding of Scotland. That opportunity may come sooner than the gloomy-browed pessimists expect, for in this era of world-upheavals events are moving with startling rapidity. Ideals, which only yesterday were regarded as remote and visionary, are to-day on the eve of realisation. The "impracticable" has become "practicable," and indeed one of the burning issues of the day. Only a few months have elapsed, for example, since Mr. Lloyd George—in the supercilious manner of the "practical politician"—threw a douche of cold water on the demand for



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national autonomy submitted to him by a deputation from the Scottish Trade Union Congress. Said the English Prime Minister, in his own evasive fashion : " I require no demonstration of the need from the practical and business point of view of delegating from the Imperial Parliament questions which are purely local, and I think there is a very strong sentiment in favour of something of that kind being done. But if you ask me on behalf of the Government to pledge myself in the middle of the war to bring in a Scottish Home Rule Bill, that is something which I think is beyond the contemplation of the most daring soul in the deputation." And the Sasunnach press re-echoed the words, " Beyond contemplation ! " " Quite impracticable " said the political quidnuncs—regardless of the fact that the so-called " practicability " of the average politician is often merely another name for bovine stolidity.

All that happened in October, 1917. Scarcely six months later, the War-Cabinet was busily engaged in the consideration of a comprehensive scheme of Federal Government for all the constituent parts of the United Kingdoms. Nay, more, the inauguration of Federal Home Rule was not to be delayed till that far-off happy day " after the war " ; national parliaments were to be set up immediately in each of the four countries, in the faint hope of staving off the consequences of the deplorable mess and muddle created in Ireland by the Coalition Government ! And that revolutionary scheme has received the support, not only of honest democrats like Mr. G. N. Barnes, and quick-change artistes like the Prime Minister, but also of men such as Mr. Long

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and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, whom most people were wont to regard as Unionists by conviction and heredity. Thus does the stern logic of events make mockery of the predictions of the puny politicians. The scheme of self-government contemplated by the London Cabinet may be timid and time-serving—there is every reason to suppose that it will be—but the recognition of the principle of nationality and of the right of the people of Scotland and Ireland and Wales to manage their own affairs, will nevertheless be a big step forward in democratic progress. It is imperative, in view of this new development, that the democracy of Scotland should make its voice heard in no hesitating or half-hearted fashion. It may be well, therefore, to examine in some detail :—

- (1) The relations of Scottish Labour and Trade Unionism to the new National Movement ;
- (2) The relations between the Scottish and English Labour Organisations ; and
- (3) The new situation created by the advent of the Scottish Co-operators into the political arena.

It must never be forgotten that local autonomy and federal government are as important in the Co-operative and Trade Union world as in the bigger sphere of national government.

To Scottish trade unionists the establishment of a system of federal government is important, not only from the national point of view, but also in the interests of administrative efficiency. When the last shot has been fired, and Europe begins to set its war-ravaged world in order, the Imperial Parliament will be confronted with big problems of finance and international

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policy. If these, and the scarcely less important problems of social reorganisation, are to be effectively dealt with—if "reconstruction" is to become something more than an empty phrase—it is imperative that national assemblies with comprehensive powers shall be established in each of the four Kingdoms. The recolonisation of Scotland is pre-eminently a task for a Scottish National Parliament, just as the vexed problems which have baffled English statesmen for centuries will only be satisfactorily solved by the people of Ireland themselves. One notes, therefore, with liveliest satisfaction the strong pronouncement in favour of "Home Rule" which was passed unanimously by the Scottish Trade Union Congress at Ayr a few weeks ago. Indeed the whole tone of the Congress was inspiring and invigorating. It is true that resolutions in favour of Self-government have been passed more than once by the Scottish Trades Congress. Indeed the formation of the Congress twenty years ago was in itself a definite and practical pronouncement in favour of national self-government. Never before, however, have the representatives of the working-classes of Scotland expressed themselves so strongly, and so explicitly, in favour of Scottish Nationalism :—

"That this Congress demands the establishment of a Scottish Parliament to deal with Scottish national affairs ; the neglect of Scottish interests and the growing congestion of public business in the Imperial Parliament renders it imperative that Scottish Home Rule should be inaugurated at the earliest possible moment ; the problems of reconstruction peculiar to Scotland can best be dealt with by a Scottish Parliament ; further we demand that Scotland as a nation be directly represented at the Peace Conference."

That pronouncement leaves no room for mis-

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understanding. It is an invigorating change from the milk-and-water Home Rule proposals put forward in timid and apologetic fashion by the Scottish Liberal M.P.'s on their election platforms—and in most cases relegated to the background the moment they enter the foetid atmosphere of Westminster. It is true that certain of our Liberal M.P.'s—awakening as from a long political slumber—have discovered that the movement in favour of Scottish Nationalism is rapidly growing in strength. There has been a shaking of the dry bones of Whiggery, but, thus far, no clear and decisive lead has come from the Liberals of Scotland. Nay more, there is grave reason to fear that a rousing call to Scottish democracy will never again be given from that quarter. The leaders of Scottish Liberalism to-day are rapidly losing touch with national sentiment. Our Liberal M.P.'s have long ceased to *lead* public opinion; they are following with doddering steps—muttering the shibboleths of an outworn political creed—far in the rear of the car of progress. Between them and the rust-crustied Tories there is little to choose. A powerful magnifying glass is necessary in order to distinguish them. The words of *Hudibras* were never more applicable than they are to the *official* Liberal and the *official* Tory, as we know them in Scotland to-day :—

The two are both so near of kin,  
And like in all as well as sin,  
That, put them in a bag and shake them  
Yourself of sudden would mistake them  
And not know which was which !

Far be it from me to say that all the leaders of



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Liberalism are of that type. It would be a black day for Scotland were that so. There are honourable exceptions to the general rule, leaders of Scottish Radicalism, whose names will readily occur to most of us, men who even in the darkest days have been proud to stand by the national flag and the cause of democratic government. To such men the working classes of Scotland will gladly do honour on whatever political platform they may stand. The independent attitude of these men in the English House of Commons only serves to bring into bold relief the subservience of the party hack who has wriggled his way into Parliament by pulling the wires in his political caucus. Professional politicians of that type are a menace to Scottish democracy.

There have been unmistakable indications recently of a revolt among the more virile of our Scottish Radicals against the election of English carpet-baggers for Scottish seats. Nationalists will hail that revolt as a healthy symptom. That a Scottish constituency should deem it necessary to cross the Border in search of an M.P. is a slur on our national reputation. When—as in the case of the Wick Burghs—the Sasunnach interloper is a dummy substitute for a Parliamentary representative, when he is a representative, moreover, of the worst elements in English journalism—journalism poisonous as it is pernicious—insult is added to injury, and every patriotic Scotsman will support the effort that is being made to convince Sir Robert Leicester Harmsworth that it is his duty to retire to that political obscurity from which he should never have emerged. Thus far, thus good ; but our Scottish



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Radicals must never forget that the Anglicised Scotsman—whose world-centre is London, who draws his political inspiration from the party whips at Westminster, whose whole outlook on life has, consciously or unconsciously, become anglicised, and who talks in tones of blatant Imperialism of the "English Empire"—is a much more serious menace to Scottish democracy and the cause of Scottish independence than the comparatively insignificant number of Northern M.P.'s whose misfortune it is to have been born on the wrong side of the Tweed. The incubus of English Whiggery hangs like a mill-stone round the necks of our Scottish Radicals, and until they make a resolute effort to free themselves from that reactionary influence, the mere ejection of the Susunnaich will be of little avail.

Thus far, there are no indications that the Scottish Liberals are prepared to take that first step towards political freedom. Their souls are with the flesh-pots of England. Even though spurred on by their more independent supporters, their steps in the direction of national autonomy are feeble and faltering. That is why the leaders of Scottish Liberalism are, as I have said, losing touch with national sentiment. That is why the younger generation of Scotsmen are turning from the leaders who dare not and cannot lead to the vigorous and independent Nationalism of the Labour Party. That is why Scottish democracy has ceased to find its inspiration in the outworn shibboleths of Liberalism, and seeks it instead in the living and inspiring message of Labour. That is why the growing harmony between Scottish working-class organisations

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and the movement in favour of national independence is one of the most hopeful and encouraging features of the new political situation. Scottish Labour has nailed the flag of national and political independence to the mast. The unanimous call for the restoration of our ancient Parliament, and for the representation of Scotland as a nation at the Peace Congress, shows that no half-hearted "Liberal" compromise, no timid political make-shift, will satisfy the organised workers of the North.

Scottish Nationalism has become a "plank" in the platform of the Scottish Labour Party. That is the meaning of the resolution passed at the Scottish Trade Union Congress. The active co-operation of the Highland Land League and the Scottish Labour Party is another significant sign of the times. A joint appeal to be issued shortly by these bodies strongly emphasises the necessity for a Scottish Parliament, and for the encouragement of Celtic culture. "I am with you heart and soul for the revival of the Gaelic language" said Mr. Robert Smillie, in the course of a recent letter to Mr. W. Gillies, the Secretary of the Comunn nan Gaidheal, and he added with emphasis, "If Scotland had its own Parliament we would soon rid ourselves of the many grievances which now affect us." That is the spirit which animates Scottish Labour to-day. The leaders of the working-classes recognise that Nationalism and Labour are part of the same great movement, and that in the work of social reconstruction which lies ahead we must have a Parliament in closer touch with Scottish ideals and aspirations than the Westminster Assembly can ever possibly be.

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Scotland is confronted to-day with big problems—Land Reform, Housing, Education, to mention but a few—and in order to reorganise our social and industrial life a National Parliament and a strong Labour Party are both necessary. It is equally necessary that the Scottish Labour Party shall be free to “work out its own salvation” unhampered by English traditions and prejudices—that it shall have full powers to formulate its own national programme and select and approve its own candidates without the intervention of the London caucus. Let there be close co-operation between the Labour Parties of Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland by all means. That is essential to the success of the movement, but co-operation need not imply domination of the Labour movement in Scotland by the reactionary elements in the party south of the Tweed. In brief, the establishment of the principles of national autonomy and federalism is just as necessary in connection with the Labour movement as in the affairs of the State. That is the crux of the whole matter. Bureaucracy is as vicious an influence in the Trade Union and Labour world as in the sphere of political administration. Recently Mr. G. N. Barnes has been speaking strongly in favour of the establishment in the United Kingdoms of “a Federal Scheme of devolution much on the lines of the American States.” A perfectly sound proposition that, so far as it goes, but it must never be forgotten that there is no argument in favour of Federalism in the affairs of the State which does not apply with equal force to the claim for federal autonomy in the Labour and Trade Union movements.

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In a recent issue of *The Scottish Review*, I had occasion to discuss the evils of bureaucracy and centralised control in the trade unions. It will be recalled that the executive of the "National" Union of Railwaymen, sitting in solemn conclave in London, curtly declined to identify themselves with Scotland's claim to representation at the Peace Congress, although the Scottish members of the Union supported the Protest. Moreover, the principle of the Protest has since been unanimously approved by the Scottish Trade Union Congress, at which the Scottish Railwaymen were fully represented. And yet the Sasunnach executive pretends to speak in the name of the railwaymen of this country! Even more mischievous and reprehensible was the notorious hold-up of the pacifist delegates by the Wilson-Tupper gang, acting on behalf of the so-called "National" Seamen and Firemen's Union. That frothy, loud-mouthed demagogues should have the power to dictate to the people of Scotland who shall, or shall not, sail from the ports of this country is a slur on the honour of the Northern Kingdom, a stain on the reputation of Scottish trade unionists, and a glaring example of the pernicious effect of bureaucracy in the organised Labour Movement. One observed with some astonishment that the self-same gang of English reactionaries was strongly represented at the Scottish Trade Union Congress. Evidently the Seamen and Firemen junta was determined to poll its full strength, for delegates of the Union were present from London, Hull, Newport, Liverpool, Cardiff, Swansea, and Southampton—gathered together from the English seaports for the purpose, one surmises, of voting against



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"negotiated peace" and in favour of the knock-out blow of the "never-enders." Fortunately the sturdy commonsense of the Scottish trade unionists was proof against the irresponsible chatter of the demagogues, but the incident shows nevertheless how easily enlightened opinion in Scotland may be stifled and stultified by the reactionary elements in English trade unionism. In a Scottish Labour Congress there should be no room for Sasunnach faggot-voters.

But that is perhaps a digression. My purpose on this occasion was rather to emphasise the growing menace of bureaucracy in the Parliamentary Labour Movement, and the urgent need for a far greater measure of "national autonomy" in connection with the political organisation of the party. This claim to national independence is not confined to the Labour organisations in Scotland. Mr. E. P. Harris, writing in the *Welsh Outlook* for May, says:—"In the Labour world we are pressing for a Welsh Advisory Council which will give us a large amount of independence, and free us from most of the administrative control of the National Labour Party." Scotland, it is true, possesses certain important advantages over Wales in this respect. A Scottish Advisory Council has been in existence for some time, and possesses fairly wide powers in regard to political organisation. The inaugural Conference of the Council was held at Glasgow, on August 21st, 1915, and was attended by 92 delegates, representing Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Local Labour Parties, the I.L.P. branches and federations, local Fabian Societies, and the Women's Labour League. Mr. Robert Smillie, the trusted leader of the

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Scottish miners, was elected president, and Mr. Ben Shaw, another pioneer of the movement, was chosen as secretary, while other stalwarts included Mr. William Stewart of the Scottish I.L.P. Council; Mr. James Maxton, M.A.; and Councillor Miss M'Nab, of the Women's Labour League. The Council has done excellent work since it was formed, and has proved a healthy and vitalising force in Scottish Labour politics. But practical experience has shown that its activities are still hampered and restricted by the bureaucratic control of the London executive. The Council has not complete autonomy; as its name implies it is "advisory," although the word has been interpreted somewhat liberally. The names of the Scottish Labour candidates must, however, be submitted for final approval to the "National" executive. In the annual reports of the Council, one finds references to meetings with the "National Secretary," at which the "Scottish programme" and the organisation of the party in Scotland were discussed, and to interviews with the "National executive" concerning Parliamentary representation in Glasgow, and kindred matters. At the latter conference it is stated that the Scottish recommendations were "tentatively adopted," but the deliberations over the Scottish programme led to less satisfactory results. The executive, in their report to the 1916 meeting of the S.A.C., state that the question of a Scottish programme had been considered by them for some time. "We approved an extensive sketch of items submitted to us by our sub-committee on the several questions of Land, Housing, and Education." There is no need to outline these proposals

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in detail. Suffice it to say that the proposed programme included "national and communal ownership of the Land, to be acquired by time-limit, non-production of titles, death duties, and other means"; a big scheme of housing reform; and free education from childhood to a leaving age of sixteen, together with the provision of bursaries to carry the qualified through the Universities." Now note well the fate of this democratic Scottish programme. The report continues:—

The Executive were in communication with headquarters on the subject, but the Party at its annual Conference had declared against the adoption of a programme, and we were bound to comply. The Scottish programme, therefore, is in abeyance presently; but the labour expended is not wasted, as the items may appear in one form or another in propaganda literature, which may be issued by your Executive Council for local purposes later on.

Thus the adoption of a democratic Labour programme for Scotland was vetoed by the London executive, with the connivance of a "National" conference, which is largely dominated by the big trade unions of England. Thus is the rule of bureaucracy established in the Labour world. Procedure such as that makes popular government a delusion, and democracy a farce.

One can scarcely imagine a sturdy, self-respecting Scottish Tory, or even a Scottish Liberal, going, hat in hand, to the party bosses in London and asking permission to run candidates in certain Scottish constituencies. In this and other respects, the Liberals of Scotland enjoy a much greater measure of "Home Rule" in regard to the selection of candidates and the control of their political organisation than do the

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members of the Scottish Labour bodies. Downing Street may frown and threaten if a Scottish Liberal Association displays an unexpected spirit of independence and refuses to respond to the crack of the Party Whips ; Downing Street may even resort to wire-pulling and promises of titular preferment in order to secure the adoption of its candidate, but further than that it rarely goes. Not so the Labour Party caucus. The London executive keeps a firm grip of the purse-strings, and otherwise exercises strict control over political affairs in Scotland. By refusing financial support they may, if they care, arrogate to themselves almost autocratic powers in regard to the selection of candidates. It is true that the decisions of the Scottish Advisory Council are seldom vetoed by the executive, but the overlordship of London is nevertheless keenly resented by the working-classes of Scotland.

The financial domination of the big trade unions threatens moreover, to become a very serious danger not to Scotland only, but to England and Wales as well. Not infrequently it has happened that a candidate prepared to guarantee a strong financial "backing" from his own Union has been selected for a Labour constituency, while much abler men, who lacked these pecuniary advantages, fail to find a place on the list of approved candidates. The rule of the Party is that the election expenses of candidates must be guaranteed by the organisations responsible for the candidature. A perfectly legitimate arrangement, perhaps, but one which is apt to lead to unfortunate results. The nominee of a wealthy trade union has thus a strong "pull" over the member of a small union,



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or of a local Labour Party. That advantage is accentuated by the fact that the big Labour organisations, as a result of the manipulation of their solid blocks of votes, are generally able to secure a controlling influence on the national executive. Thus it is that smug, self-complacent mediocrity is so strongly represented among the English trade union M.P.'s. Too often the Labour candidate secures his place "on the list" not by his knowledge of Labour politics or his grip of social problems, not because of his zeal or moral fervour, or because he possesses the necessary qualities of vision and statemanship, but merely because he has held office in an influential branch of a trade union. Thus are the English Labour M.P.'s selected. Under normal conditions the results were tolerably satisfactory, even although the world did sometimes mistake the vapid ponderosity of Hodge and Roberts for political wisdom, and the Cockney effervescence of Will Crooks for oratorical wit. But, on the outbreak of the war—when the Westminster Parliament was confronted by a new world crisis—the Mumbo Jumbos of English Labour were revealed in their true light. "Moral failure and political bankruptcy" will be the verdict of history on the Labour majority in England, just as it will be on the Socialist majority in Germany. The "Majority" have actively identified themselves with the suppression of popular liberty in Scotland and England; they have helped to rivet the shackles of Conscription on the wrists of the people. They have merely blinked owlshly when freedom of speech was assailed. They accepted office in a Government which came into existence as the result of one of the

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most discreditable episodes in modern political history. They have silently acquiesced in the subversion of justice in Ireland and the banishment of the leaders of the Sinn Fein movement without even the semblance of a trial.

To his credit be it said, Mr. Henderson has cut himself adrift from the Government of Mess and Muddle, and has refused longer to identify himself with a policy which threatens the Empire with disaster. A fearless minority in the Party has refused to bow the knee in the House of Rimmon; but the majority of the Labour M.P.'s have applauded the war-dances of the Knock-out-Blow Premier, and are firmly tied to his chariot wheels. One may confidently affirm that Mr. Lloyd George and his Labour office-boys realise by this time that they "must all hang together or they will all hang separately."

I am aware that the Hodge-Roberts-Clynes group is gradually drifting away from the official policy of the Labour Party—that already a sharp cleavage of opinion has manifested itself in the working-class movement in regard to the policy pursued by the Labour members in Parliament. At the same time, the Parliamentary Party is officially on the side of the Knock-out-Blow of George, Northcliffe, and Bottomley—and all that that implies.

Scottish Labour on the other hand has been, and is, resolutely and uncompromisingly anti-militarist. At the last conference of the Scottish Advisory Council a resolution in favour of Peace by negotiation was carried by a majority of more than three to one. Nevertheless the Scottish Advisory Council must obtain

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the approval of the National Executive (on which English members wholly out of touch with Scottish ideals are strongly represented) before it is possible to formulate a Scottish Labour programme, or definitely select a candidate for a Scottish constituency. The position is a humiliating and intolerable one. The trade unionists of Scotland—the working-classes of Scotland—are much better qualified to settle these important national questions than a committee sitting in London could possibly be.

Something has been done since the Advisory Council was formed to obtain a certain measure of autonomy for Scotland, but further powers are urgently necessary. Why should the trade unionists of Scotland be dragged at the heels of England? Why should it be necessary to consult the London executive regarding a purely Scottish programme? Why should it be necessary to obtain the approval of an executive on which the English reactionaries are necessarily represented before adopting for a Scottish constituency a Labour stalwart such as Mr. Robert Smillie, or even an ardent pacifist such as Mr. James Maxton? All these matters can be, and ought to be, settled by the trade unionists and Labourists of Scotland themselves.

In the meantime the Scottish Advisory Council is pressing its claim for increased power. The Scottish executive hopes to place a draft of the proposals before the next annual meeting of the Council, which is to be held in Glasgow on September 21st. It is in the highest degree desirable that at that meeting Scottish Labour should put forward its claim for self-government in clear and explicit terms, and that a unanimous de-

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mand for a greater measure of autonomy should be placed before the next annual conference of the Labour Party.

But the revolt against London rule is not confined to Labour and trade union circles. A situation almost identical in every detail has arisen in the Co-operative movement, and gave rise to a lively discussion at the recent congress at Liverpool.

In order to appreciate the significance of the entrance of the Co-operators into the political arena, it will be necessary to take a brief backward glance at the history of this great working-class movement, and to the circumstances which led up to the new development. Co-operation, it must not be forgotten, is the outcome of Celtic inspiration. Associated trading owes its inception in the United Kingdoms to the reforming zeal of that distinguished Welshman, Mr. Robert Owen. It is true that Owen himself took little, if any, part in the inauguration of the movement, but co-operative trading was nevertheless the first fruit—the first practical result—of the teachings of the man who laboured so earnestly for the establishment of “the new moral world.” But there were co-operators in Scotland even before the days of the famous Welsh reformer. In fact the earliest attempt at associated trading in the United Kingdoms of which any reliable record exists was made by the weavers of Fenwick, a small village near Kilmarnock. That pioneer Scottish Society was formed in 1769.\* Eight years later, a Co-operative Society was formed at Govan, while the

\* See *The History of Co-operation in Scotland*, by William Maxwell, J.P., page 46.



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little village of Lennoxton in Stirlingshire had a flourishing Victualling Society in the early years of the Nineteenth Century. But all that does not detract from the influence of "Owenism" on associated trading. The moving spirits among the Rochdale pioneers were disciples of Robert Owen, and in the founding of the early Co-operative Societies in Scotland, the Socialists, and later the Chartists, took a prominent part. Among Owen's co-workers in Scotland were the brothers Combe and James Hamilton, younger, of Dalziel.

But although the Scottish pioneers were keenly interested in democratic progress, the Co-operative movement in its early days was kept rigidly apart from the political controversies of the hour. "No Politics" was the rule of the societies, and it was the proud boast of the members that inside the movement Whig and Tory might all agree, and Jew and Gentile work hand and hand together for the common good. Under the political conditions which obtained 30 or 40 years ago—or even two decades ago—that principle was a thoroughly sound one. When the difference between Liberal and Tory was mainly the difference between "Tweedle-de-dum and Tweedle-de-dee" there was no urgent call for co-operators to don their political armour. When "Gladstone" and "Beaconsfield" were names to conjure with there was little in the political controversies of the hour to warrant the intervention of the Co-operative organisations. But even in the later days of Gladstone, the political atmosphere was slowly changing, although some of the intellectual survivals of that era—the political Rip-

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Van-Winkles of to-day—have not yet discovered it. Parliament, nevertheless, began to concern itself more and more with the industrial and social affairs of the country, and it soon became apparent that the working-class trading organisations were to be vitally affected by some of the new legislation. And so the suggestion that Co-operators should take political action in order to protect the interests of their organisations was put forward by a few of the more daring spirits. As might be expected, the proposal was vehemently opposed by the older school of co-operators. The first occasion on which political action was definitely proposed was at the Co-operative Congress which met at Perth twenty years ago, but the supporters of the forward move were soundly beaten. Since that time motions in favour of political action have been frequently submitted to the Co-operative Parliament—and just as often rejected. Even immediately before the outbreak of the war, the supporters of political action were in a minority, although the younger school of Co-operators were gaining the ascendancy—especially so in Scotland. But the stolid mass of English Conservatism refused to budge, and “No politics” remained the accepted policy of the movement. Soon, however, the big upheaval occasioned by the war began to open the eyes even of the most slow-witted and somnolent to the dangers of the old methods of drift and inaction. A new industrial revolution was in progress; and the old world was falling down about the ears of the astonished Co-operators. Big fiscal changes were also imminent. The excess profits duty bore harshly and

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unfairly on the great working-class trading organisations. From Liberals and Conservatives alike came insistent demands that the surpluses of Co-operative Societies should be taxed—although both from an ethical and a fiscal point of view the proposal was altogether unsound. The private traders, however, are strongly entrenched in both the great political parties, while the co-operators have not a single representative in Parliament. They have, it is true, good friends among the Labour M.P.'s, but as Co-operators they have no claim whatever on the services of any of the great parties in the State. By persistent "lobbying" some of the worst abuses of the excess profits imposition were removed, but other dangers still confronted the movement. The Chancellor of the Exchequer wanted money, and still more money, to pay the huge war-bill, and private traders in Parliament pointed menacingly to the accumulated surpluses of the Co-operative Societies. By the heavy increase of indirect taxation, the working-class distributive agencies were also severely hit. Moreover, Co-operators have a legitimate grievance in regard to various food distribution regulations, many of which operated unfairly against the working-class trading societies. Thus by lesson after lesson it was brought home to the leaders of Co-operation that Parliamentary representation was necessary in order to protect the interests of the societies both in their productive and distributive capacities. It is obvious, moreover, that the State control of industry and of food distribution will not be relaxed until many long months after the last shot has been fired. The problems which will occupy the

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attention of Parliament after the war will be problems of taxation, of land reform, and of reconstruction—the reorganisation of the industrial life of the country. In all these matters the Co-operative Societies are directly and vitally interested.

That was the lesson which the war taught the leaders of the movement. Even the proposed League of Nations is but the application of the principles of co-operation to international relationships.

The outcome of all these war-time changes was that the motion in favour of direct political action, which had been so often rejected, was carried at the Co-operative Congress in 1917 by an overwhelming majority, endorsed by a special conference a few months later, and re-affirmed with scarcely a dissentient voice at the Congress which met last Whitsun week at Liverpool. It will thus be seen that the Celts were the pioneers of Co-operation, and that the leaders of the movement in Scotland have been prominently identified with the forward policy.

Co-operators “did not allow the grass to grow under their feet.” Having definitely decided on political action, immediate steps were taken to give effect to the resolutions of the Congress, and at the bye-election at Prestwick this spring, Co-operators, for the first time in the history of the movement, put forward a candidate for Parliament. Their nominee was defeated, it is true, but, all things considered, the result was wonderfully encouraging. Meantime the political organisation of the party was being rapidly put in order in anticipation of the General Election. That appeal to the people cannot now be long delayed ; among the



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working-classes of Scotland the conviction grows stronger every day that the time has come when Labour and Democracy must say to the popinjay leaders of English politics: "Get you gone and give way to honester men." A sharp cleavage of opinion has arisen in the movement, however, over the just and legitimate claim of the Scottish Co-operators to "national autonomy" in regard to the selection of candidates and the control of the political organisation of the new party in Scotland. In the meantime, all the old evils of bureaucracy and centralised administration are springing up with alarming rapidity in the Co-operative political organisation. The Central Parliamentary Representation Committee is a sub-committee of the Parliamentary Committee, and all its decisions must be submitted to the latter body. Then the Co-operative Union has the control of the purse strings, and the political plans must be submitted to that body for approval. All this involves delay and complications—but that is not the worst feature. The present arrangement also means that the final selection, or approval, of Scottish Co-operative candidates is placed in the hands of a body on which English Co-operators are predominant—a body the majority of whose members are completely out of touch with the national aspirations of the Northern Kingdom. Thus it is that evils which it has taken the older political parties several generations to bring to fruition have sprung up like Jonah's gourd in Co-operative politics. In the Co-operative movement, as in the bigger sphere of Imperial politics, Scotland is to be dragged at the heels of England!

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Scottish Co-operators, however, are fully alive to the dangers of the situation, and a vigorous attempt is being made to establish the principles of national autonomy and federal Home Rule in the movement. At the Annual Scottish National Co-operative Congress, held in Glasgow, at the end of April, the following resolution was submitted by the Glasgow and Suburbs Conference Association :—

“ That a separate Committee be instituted for Scotland, consisting of three members of the Scottish Section, two members of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society's Board, one from each of the ten Conference District Committees, one from the Scottish Women's Guild, and one from the Men's Guild. This Committee to exercise all the powers, so far as Scotland is concerned, as the scheme confers on the Central Parliamentary Representation Committee, and to work in close co-operation with the Central Parliamentary Representation Committee in its national policy.”

Thus clearly and explicitly were the claims of Scotland set forth. It was an assertion of the principles of Scottish Nationalism in the Co-operative movement. Mr. Weir, the Secretary of the Conference Association, who moved the resolution, declared that in proportion to population, we have in Scotland a greater number of Parliamentary Divisions which ought to be considered than there is in England. Amid the cheers of the delegates, he added that he “did not believe that there was anybody in Scotland who believed that they could not manage their affairs for themselves better than a Committee sitting in Manchester or London could do. The question of finance was also settled in Manchester, but the financial affairs of Scotland could be settled by Scotsmen themselves.” In Parliamentary representation, he declared, they had been dragged at the

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heels of England ever since the Perth Congress. It required a war to settle the matter, and now in regard to machinery they were to be dragged at the heels of England also. Throughout the whole of the discussion there was clear appreciation of the fact that the future of the Co-operative movement will largely depend on the success of the Parliamentary scheme, and that if political action is to achieve its purpose it can only be on the lines of national autonomy for Scotland. Even Mr. George Wilson, the Chairman of the Aberdeen Society, who supported a modified proposal, expressed the hope that the Scottish constituencies "would hurry up with their selection, for they did not want carpet-baggers from across the Border." And so, at the conference at Glasgow, the resolution in favour of Home Rule in the Co-operative movement was carried by a very large majority. As the *Scottish Co-operator* of the following week remarks, in a leader characterised by a manly and independent ring: "There was strong expression of opinion (at the conference) that Scotland must have freedom to work out its own social and political salvation. This does not involve any antipathy to England or any other country, as it ought to be recognised that a confederation of self-governing units was far stronger than any organisation which could be managed from any one centre. Devolution is in the air, not only in politics but also in industry and commerce, and Co-operation must keep itself on the lines of progress."

I have touched in some detail on the proceedings at the Glasgow conference for the purpose of emphasising the fact that in the Scottish Co-operative movement

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feeling is overwhelmingly in favour of national autonomy. Now note well the sequel. Scarcely a month later, the Co-operative Congress met at Liverpool, and this practically unanimous demand on the part of the Scottish societies for the right to manage their own affairs was submitted for the consideration of the delegates. What happened? The following is the bald record of the proceedings which appeared in the press the following morning:—

Mr. Kerr (St. George's) on behalf of five Scottish Societies, moved to secure special treatment for Scotland by the appointment of a Committee with powers for Scotland, similar to those conferred upon the general committee. The amendment, however, was defeated by a large majority.

Thus, in contemptuous fashion, was the practically unanimous demand of the Scottish Co-operators rejected by the English delegates to the Congress. It is true that a complicated and cumbersome scheme was submitted by the Parliamentary Representation Committee, providing for the setting up of Sectional Councils with limited powers, but that too was vetoed, and nothing whatever has been done to curb the growth of bureaucracy and centralised management in the Co-operative movement. The political activities of the Scottish Co-operators will still be controlled by "a Committee sitting in London or Manchester," and the movement in Scotland will be clogged by the deadweight of English conservatism. Scottish Co-operators, one may confidently predict, will never rest satisfied with such an arrangement—an arrangement which is an outrage on national aspirations and at variance with the whole spirit of modern democracy.



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Practical steps must be taken at the earliest possible date to secure the reversal of the Liverpool decision. The Co-operators of Scotland must have complete freedom to mould the future of their movement in harmony with Scottish ideals. The inherent right of the people of Scotland to control their own political destinies must be firmly insisted on. Once more be it said: Political Autonomy and Federal Home Rule are as vitally important in the Labour, Trade Union, and Co-operative movements, as in the bigger sphere of the State.

Incidentally—and parenthetically perhaps—a significant incident may be noted in connection with the attempt of English Co-operators to dominate the movement in Scotland. The Co-operative movement is represented in the press by two organs of national importance—*The Scottish Co-operator*, published in Glasgow, and *The Co-operative News*, with headquarters in Manchester. In addition to these, there are certain monthly magazines of an educative character, and various virile and useful sheets published by certain of the larger societies. Recently English Co-operators have been turning covetous eyes to the Naboth's vineyard north of the Tweed, and a proposal was submitted on their behalf involving the complete reorganisation of the press work of the movement—a reorganisation which would have had the effect of changing completely the identity and outlook of the ably-conducted organ of the Scottish Co-operators. I am quite certain that our English friends were actuated by the best of motives in making the proposal which they did. There need be no doubt on that point.

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*The Co-operative News* itself is one of the most enlightened and progressive of English weeklies, and is doing excellent work in its own domain. But that the proposal to amalgamate the two newspapers—for that is what it would have meant in actual practice—should have been submitted by the Co-operative Newspaper Society (of Manchester) indicates once more the narrow English outlook, an extraordinary lack of imagination, and a complete failure to appreciate the Scottish standpoint. Probably the firm reply of the Scottish Co-operators will enable the English directors to understand the position better in the future. In the interests of Scottish Co-operation it is in the highest degree imperative that the national organ of the movement in this country should be published in Scotland, and controlled directly by the co-operators of Scotland; at the same time it is equally necessary that it should be independent in outlook, free to criticise the various proposals that come before the conferences, and to discuss from the Scottish point of view the big problems with which modern democracy is confronted. Centralised control of the Co-operative press would stifle independent criticism, and hamper the progress of the movement in Scotland. The incident to which I have referred provides a timely warning of the danger of English domination in the Co-operative movement.

And now, it will naturally be asked, what will be the precise effect of the entrance of Co-operators into the political arena? That is a question which one hesitates to answer dogmatically. Co-operation exercises a powerful influence in Scotland to-day, but as a political force it is chaotic and unorganised. The

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Co-operative societies contain within their ranks members of all political parties; and bold, yet judicious, leadership will be necessary before the movement "comes to its own" in a political sense. Already the representatives of the old political parties—men without vision or outlook—have begun to make mischief. The result is that one or two Co-operative Societies—to their discredit be it said—have rejected the political scheme, temporarily at anyrate. There are rocks ahead, but if the new movement is wisely directed I am confident that in the not distant future Co-operation will become a powerful and progressive influence in the political life of Scotland.

It is scarcely likely that the number of Co-operative candidates who will take the field at the coming General Election will exceed forty, and of the constituencies in the provisional list, eleven are in Scotland. At the moment of writing, however, only four Scottish Co-operative candidates have been definitely selected. That is not as it should be. There is no lack of suitable men. I have in my mind's eye at the present moment at least a score of prominent Scottish Co-operators who would make infinitely better Members of Parliament than the feckless Liberal and Tory voting machines who misrepresent the working-classes of Scotland at Westminster to-day. It is true that the difficulty of selection is accentuated by the fact that certain seats which Co-operators might reasonably hope to capture have been "ear-marked" by the Labour Party. Labour associations have been busy for many months past, and the work of organisation is approaching completion. For over twenty years the I.L.P. has

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been doing spade work in the working-class constituencies, and not unnaturally the members resent the idea of Co-operators stepping in at the eleventh hour and appropriating the fruits of which another organisation have sown the seed. But that is to take a narrow and unpatriotic view of the political situation. The Co-operative movement occupies a prominent place in the national life of Scotland. The membership of the Scottish societies to-day is well over 500,000, and the annual sales exceed £35,000,000. That is to say, on a family basis, from one-third to one-half of the population of the big industrial centres is directly interested in the welfare of the Co-operative societies. To bring this new political force into line with the organised Labour movement should be the aim of the leaders of Scottish democracy. One welcomes, therefore, the suggestion that a conference should be held between the Trade Unionists and Co-operators in order to arrive at a friendly understanding as to the seats to be contested by the various working-class organisations. Certain preliminary negotiations have in fact already taken place, but it must never be forgotten that complete freedom of action for the Scottish committees is necessary to the success of such negotiations. Tactless wire-pulling by the so-called "national" committees in London or Manchester will lead to endless friction and misunderstanding, and should not be tolerated.

Is it too much to hope that, as the result of the combined efforts of the Labour, Trade Union, and Co-operative organisations, fifty working-class candidates will take the field in Scotland at the next General



## The Future of the Scottish Labour Party

Election? There is no reason why that should not be done. The time is ripe for a big forward move, and there is no lack of capable candidates. Already Labour candidates have been adopted in eighteen constituencies; in four other divisions candidates have been nominated; in eleven divisions nominations have been called for but are not yet closed; and in fourteen more divisions preliminary steps in connection with the selection of a candidate have been taken. With the advent of the Co-operators it should not be difficult to bring the total up to fifty. One notes with special satisfaction the appearance of certain Highland constituencies in the list. The Scottish Farm Servants, too, are bestirring themselves, and probably for the first time in the history of the country will take part, as an organised body, in the General Election campaign.

These political forces—some new, some old—to which I have referred, represent the union of all that is best in the intellectual and democratic life of Scotland—the Trade Unions, the Independent Labour Party, the Land League, the Celtic Movement, the Fabian and Socialist Societies, and the Co-operative movement. If properly organised and wisely led, this combined movement will assuredly exercise a powerful influence on the national and political life of Scotland. Not the working people only, but the better elements in the middle and professional classes are turning with growing hope and confidence to the Labour Party. For the first time in history, the women of Scotland will be able to take a direct and effective part in guiding the destinies of the nation. There is a moving of the waters; a new spirit is abroad in the land. In

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the rebuilding of Scotland, in the reorganisation of our social and industrial life, Scottish Labour and Scottish Nationalism will assuredly play a noble and a worthy part.

WILLIAM DIACK.



## *Last of the Old Dominies*



BAILE-NAN-CNOC did not always possess as schoolhouse the substantial high-gabled building to which the younger generation resorts for instruction in these days of *ad hoc* Boards and "Codes." Indeed it is not so very long since the district in which it stands, Am Bràigh (The Brae), was an uncultivated and uninhabited hinterland, which for the summer months was used as pasture ground for a few of the less fastidious of the village cattle, and in the winter was deserted of man and beast.

Fifty years ago the youth of Baile-nan-Cnoc, as well as the intellectually ambitious from the neighbouring townships, received the elements of education at the "Auld School," a small thatched building situated about a quarter of a mile from the principal dwelling-house of the village. At that time the age for leaving school was in a great many cases as high as eighteen; and as, before the call of the Low Countries came to Baile-nan-Cnoc, the allotted span was seventy years, it cannot justly be said that there was any indecent haste in entering upon the active business of life.

The pupils at the Auld School supplied not only their own fuel in the shape of a peat per day, but also their own writing materials and ink, the latter being laid aside, at the close of the day's work, under the thatch above the inner wall. Despite the practice of placing ingenious private marks on these articles,

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and the prominent place assigned in the curriculum to religious instruction (including the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal") the late comers, particularly if they were outlanders from the adjoining villages, were apt to be plundered of these their goods; for, in the primitive code of the youth of Baile-nan-Cnoc, "foreign" inkwells were something in the nature of legitimate spoils of war; and all persuasion to the contrary, no matter how applied, was always impotent to mend the manners, as the morals, of the local youth. Complaints were worse than useless. They not only failed to effect the recovery of the stolen goods, but added injury to insult as often as the complainers were vigorously stoned beyond the bounds of Baile-nan-Cnoc. Hence it was that the dominie, in addition to being the village preacher and schoolmaster, had thrust on him on many occasions the office of arbiter and private detective in cases of petty theft.

The work of instruction in the Auld School was carried on by a succession of divinity students, who preached twice every Sunday, besides conducting a Sabbath School, and holding at least one week-day service. The spectacle of the last of the dominies solemnly protesting against the use of the word Sunday, as lacking Biblical authority, is therefore one little surprising, however pathetic it may be.

If ever there was a race of intellectual giants, the dominies of Baile-nan-Cnoc were surely of the breed, for, without flinching, they undertook, during their apprentice stage, work which nowadays requires the undivided attention of two fully-trained professional men. The annual teaching period extended from April to



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October, it being the practice for the dominie to attend the University or Divinity Hall for the remainder of the year, unless he had already given up college as a "bad job." As a rule, the teaching of the resident dominie was very much subordinated to his preaching, his main interest in life being theological and evangelical rather than educational. In other words, his principal aim was "conversion," and not the formation of character at the tenderest season of a man's life. Doubtless, also, the Sabbath congregations were thought to be superior in intelligence to the school, and for that reason they made greater demands on the dominie's time, though everything in the nature of merely intellectual preparation for the Sabbath discourses was carefully concealed from the crofters of Baile-nan-Cnoc. It was just as well that the activity of the spirit should be thought to be "infinite," for otherwise it might be hard for a generation which had not inherited the unquestioning faith of its Calvinistic forefathers to believe that all the supposed impromptu exhortations to the good life delivered at the Auld School were the genuine and spontaneous outpourings of the spirit. The irreverent might easily attribute to much burning of the midnight oil the cohesion and a great deal of the eloquence and fervour that frequently characterised these Sabbath discourses.

The dominies themselves, though resembling one another in so far as they conformed to a type, yet differed widely as individuals. The majority were enthusiastic and evangelically-minded young men, to whom the lake of fire and brimstone was an ever-visible and terrifying reality, and Sunday walks by

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the sounding shores of Baile-nan-Cnoc were an abomination which could only be pardoned, though but hardly, through the intervention of the Lord. Theirs, doubtless, was the robust faith and sincerity of purpose which would take the City of God by storm, but they knew nothing of that sense of proportion, and lacked the perspective which would have led them towards the portals of the Palace of Art. Frequently the dominies were middle-aged men who, in response to a "call," had forsaken the plough; others were already in the evening of their days when they began to teach, and, being the products of a stern, uncouth, and unsympathetic creed, instruments less fitted for imparting counsel and instruction to impressionable youth it would have been difficult to find.

The educational curriculum of the Auld School was determined very largely by the tastes and predilections of the dominie himself, and was therefore erratic and unstable. Though the School was under the nominal control of the church, there was practically no central body to exercise any real supervision over the teachers themselves, the consequence being that the syllabus occasionally exhibited almost incredible anomalies. In some cases the course of study laid down for the young barbarians of Baile-nan-Cnoc was absurdly ambitious. One who cannot without great difficulty write his own name well "minds" with pride how he "studied" the rudiments of Latin Grammar at the Auld School, and how he acquired a smattering of classical history, of which the outstanding fact would appear to have been that "Cicero and Demosthenes were the great orators of antiquity." Ob-

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viously, the humanities had not then been dethroned !

Of the dominies of the Auld School, none lives more vividly in the memory of the Fathers of Baile-nan-Cnoc than one Calum Donn. Calum, it would appear, had had a lengthy and somewhat chequered career at Glasgow College. In his youth he had attended classes in "roaring, huckstering, High Street"; and latterly the objection against colleges entertained by the more primitive-minded evangelicals, who regarded them as centres of infidelity and ungodly speculation, found in him a staunch supporter, his main objection to Universities, and professors being that he had attended both for eight years without learning anything. For some considerable time Calum taught, or to be more precise, was in charge of the Auld School. Suitable encouragement to wayward or backward pupils formed no part of his professional equipment. Whenever a particularly backward pupil came under his charge, his sole means of dealing with the difficulty was, when the purely physical remedy broke down, to walk the pupil to the door, and show him Beinn Ard in the distance, remarking in Gaelic at the same time, "As long as you see Beinn Ard, you will be no scholar!" The prediction, it may be added, was generally correct, but as the prophet exercised fairly complete control over the conditions governing the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the prophecy, his success as sooth-sayer is not much to be wondered at. With respect to other dominies of Baile-nan-Cnoc—how Dòmhnall Mìn sought to adorn the entrance to the school with figures made of pebbles; how Gillespuig Cràbhach was occasionally utterly overwhelmed through a too vivid consciousness

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of the grace of God, and was thereby rendered temporarily incapable of walking alone; are not all these things and many others to like effect nightly recalled and embroidered upon to this very day at the winter *Céilidh* of Baile-nan-Cnoc?

At long last, however, the last of the dominies retired, the Board School was built in the Bràigh, and a certificated teacher duly installed. The days of the dominies had come to an honourable, though not a premature, close. Still, the Auld School still stands, a nettle-covered and by no means venerable ruin, by which natives of Baile-nan-Cnoc are wont to linger to renew the recollections of their youth, and to exchange reminiscences touching things which now are not.

The passing of the dominie, despite the many virtues—some real, others not so real, and not a few purely imaginary—which sentiment has clustered round his name, and the halo which time, who forgiveth much, has placed about his head, is on the whole not to be regretted. Like the Smuggler, the Soldier of Fortune, and the Clan Bard, the Dominie is one of the picturesque figures of bygone times. Doubly picturesque he is as he stands recreated for us by the “Kail-yard” novelists; and though they had refrained from making him the butt of innumerable love affairs, and had abstained from populating Scotland with Admirable Chrichtons drawn from such institutions as the Auld School, nevertheless his worth would be great and his memory sweet. Of his virtues, it may be safely said that they were many; if he did not keep the torch of learning aflame with a dazzling brilliance, at least it may be said of him that in his hands it maintained



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a fairly steady candle-light where otherwise total darkness would have reigned supreme. Further, as a class or type, the dominie did much to encourage the "lad o' pairts"; but his failings, his lack of a regular education and of any proper professional training, coupled with his neglect of the average and under-average pupil, would to-day make his career in any efficient educational system a short one. *Sed de mortuis nil nisi bonum*: the Dominie of the old school served his day, and generation, but, like Duncan, he is in his grave, and sleeps well.

UISDEAN LAING.



## *Celt and Teuton in England*



FEW years ago, it was customary, in England and elsewhere, to ascribe the origins of the English people and of English culture to Germany. It was pointed out with perfect truth that Germany was the original home of the English, that their language belonged to the group of languages styled Germanic or Teutonic, and that the political and social institutions of England had their birth in what many Englishmen are now pleased to term the land of the Hun. Indeed, the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, a politician of some small repute in certain sections of the English world, devoted part of the declining years of his life to advocating an alliance between Germany and England, an alliance the desirability of which he partly based on the ground of racial kinship. Mr. Cecil Rhodes, another of the gods of English imperialism, held very similar views. On the other hand, the same school of political demagogues affected to regard the Celtic and Latin peoples as "declining races," especially the Celtic peoples, whose supposed backward ways were the cause of constant trouble and anxiety to the benevolent soul of John Bull. In this connection, it is perhaps worth recalling that a certain popular English newspaper, which has been fittingly described as a journal compiled for Englishmen who cannot think by scribes who cannot write, once expressed its desire to see

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France "rolled in the mud." But when England declared war against Germany in 1914, its journalistic hacks, with a fickleness characteristically English, suddenly proceeded to write upon lines diametrically opposed to those of former years, and their readers who cannot, or do not, think, were sublimely unconscious of any change of polemical front. It was no longer the "correct thing" to claim relationship with the German. But it was desirable on many grounds to have some relations within the pale of English supremacy, especially if those quarters could furnish good fighting material. Placed in these sore straits, the Englishman promptly determined to claim kinship with the hitherto despised Celt, and has even endeavoured to pass himself off as being himself some sort of Celt. Letters and articles were hurriedly contributed to English journals with the object of proving that England was really more Celtic than Teutonic, an opinion as strenuously denied in the years before the war, in spite of the fact that English writers of repute, such as Huxley and Beddoe, had repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that there was a not inconsiderable Celtic element in the composition of the English people, as it was now boisterously affirmed. Under these circumstances, it may be interesting to consider to what extent the Celt is really represented in the Englishman of to-day, so far, at all events, as the available evidence enables us to arrive at any definite conclusion with respect to that matter.

Although, of course, the word "England" did not come into use for some centuries later, it will nevertheless be convenient to employ it in the course of this

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article when considering the racial or other affinities of its inhabitants at the time of the Roman invasion. We thus avoid the use of that ambiguous and very much misused word "Britain." Further, "England" is to be understood not only as excluding "Wales," but also Gwent or Monmouth, a county whose affinities with Wales are so plain that even the third-rate intellects of the Westminster parliament have been obliged to acknowledge them.

At the time of the first Roman invasion, the population of England was already of mixed origin. Not only were there tribes there called Celts, but there were others styled Belgae by Caesar, while yet more lived in the interior of the country which were neither Celts nor Belgae. These last were in all probability the representatives of the early inhabitants of the country, the men of the Stone Age. They differed in language from the "Celts," although later on the language of the Celt displaced their own. In England to-day, there are men living of the same physical type as the men of the Palaeolithic or Early Stone Age. This race was the first in possession of the soil, and its persistence to the present day shows the inherent absurdity of the theories of wholesale displacement and extermination. A well-defined anthropological type, once in possession of the soil, is never wholly obliterated. Successive waves of conquest may pass over a land, but the men whose ancestors have for ages tilled the ground are too necessary to the conqueror to be wholly dispossessed. Moreover, the older physical type, the product of long ages, is, as a rule, stronger than that of the foreign conqueror, and so, in the end,



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more than holds its own. The language of these "aborigines" may change, as it has changed in England from a pre-Celtic tongue to Celtic, and then to English, but these successive changes do not affect the anthropological type. The conformation of the skull, the colour of the hair and eyes, and other anthropological details remain as before. "Skulls are harder than consonants." Although language may sometimes give useful indications concerning the racial origin of a people, yet it is not in itself an infallible test. A negro may speak French or some other European language, but that does not make him a Frenchman or a European. It is necessary to draw attention to these facts, because much misapprehension is often caused by the use of such loose and inaccurate terms as "Celtic race" and "English race," etc. There is no such thing as a Celtic race or an English race, in the anthropological acceptation of the term "race." There are merely Celtic-speaking peoples and English-speaking peoples, both of mixed origin as regards race. The word "Celt" is usually applied to those peoples who either now speak a Celtic tongue, as in Wales and Brittany, or who have done so within historic times, as in Cornwall. So used and understood, it is a convenient and quite a proper label to employ, provided we avoid the vulgar misconceptions touching race. As a matter of fact, among the Celtic-speaking peoples of Europe, there are at least two anthropological types or races, a short dark type usually now called the Mediterranean race, and a tall fair type called Nordic or Northern. Stone Age man in England, driven into the interior of the country by later invaders, belonged to the Mediterranean race.

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Conflicting opinions have been held regarding the Belgae of Caesar, the people from whom the modern Belgium takes its name. Some writers have regarded them as "Celts," others as Germans. The statement of Caesar, made on good authority, is to the effect that they were a Germanic people who had crossed the Rhine, and driven out the Gauls. Although the Belgae in Caesar's time had become more or less Celticised as regards language, it is impossible to dismiss this statement concerning their origin as of no value. We may look upon them therefore as Celticised Germans. After their invasion of England, we may infer from what Caesar tells us that they displaced the "Celts" to a certain extent, pushing them westwards. They occupied territory in the south and south-east of England, and possibly also elsewhere in that country.

We may now briefly consider the question of the racial type of these "Celts" of Caesar and other classical writers such as Tacitus. The ordinary inference from their descriptions would be that the Celts were fair-haired. On the other hand, too much importance must not be attached to the statements of the very amateur anthropologists of the Roman Empire, inasmuch as any colour noticeably different from the dark Mediterranean type familiar to these writers would necessarily attract attention and therefore have undue emphasis laid upon it, as always happens under such circumstances with inexperienced observers. But some part at least of the Celtic-speaking peoples of classical times was undoubtedly fair-haired. The "Celts," even at this early period, were of mixed origin. Before their arrival in England, and even before their earlier in-

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vasion of Gaul, there had apparently been an intermixture between a fair-haired people and the darker southern type, the latter probably forming a more or less plebeian class.

There is reason to believe that in England, as in some other countries, the Celtic settlers formed a military aristocracy. Such aristocracies suffer heavily in warfare, as is inevitable. In view of the numerous invasions to which England has been subjected in the course of the centuries, it must necessarily have happened that the fair-haired "Celtic" aristocrat has suffered more heavily than his dark-haired social and political inferior, the representative of the Mediterranean race. In England and Wales, common misfortunes at the hands of alien invaders fused the remnants of Caesar's "Celts" with the more numerous representatives of the Mediterranean race. In this amalgamation, the language of the Celtic predominant class triumphed, the tongue of the pre-Celtic peoples becoming extinct. The result was a Celtic-speaking people, usually termed "Celts" as already explained, but predominantly dark-haired and with other correlated anthropological attributes. Thus, whatever the "Celt" may have been in Caesar's time, the present-day "Celt" in England and Wales is usually dark-haired. The change, so far as there has been a change, has been essentially a change in language, again showing that language in itself is no guide to racial affinity, although of fundamental importance in questions of nationality, a very different thing. As the later post-Celtic invaders of England were mostly fair-haired, the predominance of a dark-haired type of man in certain

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parts of that country affords a good indication of the existence of a more or less "Celtic" people, employing that word in the way already defined, a purely linguistic usage. Of the various anthropological characteristics employed in determining questions of race, such as hair colour, eye colour, cephalic index, and so on, the first is the most useful and generally reliable, as far as England and Wales and some other countries are concerned.

In considering this matter in detail, the most convenient plan to adopt will be to divide England and Wales into the usual anthropological areas as regards hair colour, and then go on to consider the evidence for the existence of a Celtic-speaking people in these areas in the first few centuries after the Teutonic conquest.

For the purpose of anthropological comparison as regards hair-colour, Dr. John Beddoe suggested an "index of nigrescence." Taking a sufficiently large number of persons in order to obtain reliable results, the difference, expressed as a percentage, between the sum of the number of fair-haired and red-haired people, and the sum of the number of dark brown-haired and twice the number of the black-haired people, represents the "index." This may be clearly expressed in the form of an algebraical equation, thus:— $\text{Index} = D + 2N - (R + F)$ , these letters referring to the initial letters of the hair colour, N being "niger" (black) and D dark brown. Further details will be found in Dr. Beddoe's book, *The Races of Britain*.

It is obvious that when the index for any particular district is a minus quantity, or a low positive quantity,



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that district is relatively light-haired, and that when it is a comparatively large positive quantity, the district is relatively dark-haired. The statistics and observations of Dr. Beddoe and others show that, in England and Wales, the index ranges from 20·6, in the case of Cornwall, to -6·5 in the north-western counties.

As is well known, Cornwall is a county where a Celtic language allied to Welsh and Breton continued to be spoken for centuries after the English invasion, only dying out in the eighteenth century. Next in order as regards nigrescence come South Wales, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, with indices ranging from 17 to 18. The people are also comparatively short in height, another characteristic of the Mediterranean race. The group immediately below comprises North Wales, the counties on the Welsh border, viz. :—Gloucester, Hereford, Salop and Cheshire, also Devon, Dorset, Northampton, Rutland, Huntingdon, and Bedford, with an index range of 10·6 to 14, and also the Birmingham area. As regards these two groups, everyone knows that the Welsh are a Celtic-speaking people, i.e. are Celts, *according to our definition*. We should naturally expect to find a Celtic element in the border counties just mentioned, as also in Devon, on the border of Cornwall. The historical evidence in support of this view, and that for the existence of a late Celtic-speaking population in some of the other counties, will be given in more detail later on. A fourth group of counties, with an index range of 5-8·6, comprises Somerset, Wiltshire, Stafford, Worcester, Warwick, Leicester, Cambridge, Lancashire (except the northern detached portion), the West Riding

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of Yorkshire, and a few detached areas elsewhere. The remaining counties, with indices ranging from 5 downwards, need not be enumerated in detail. A glance at the map of England will show that these counties, from their geographical situation, were those most exposed to the attacks of the light-haired Teutons.

Before proceeding to consider the Teutonic conquest and its effects upon the Celtic-speaking population, it will be well to refer to some aspects of the earlier Roman conquest. The Romans occupied England for over four hundred years. Among the legionaries were men from all quarters of the Empire. It is only natural to believe that intermarriage took place with the Celtic and Celticised inhabitants of the land, so introducing a further element in racial complexity. Quite likely, Anglo-Saxons were among the alien elements introduced in the Roman period. Some years ago, Prof. R. A. S. Macalister found skeletons that he regarded as Anglo-Saxon below certain strata in Cambridgeshire, containing traces of connection with the late Roman occupation. Even in those comparatively early days, the Anglo-Saxons were such a menace to the *pax Romana* that there was a special officer, the Count of the Saxon Shore, charged with the defence of the country against the attacks of these savage hordes.

When the Roman legions were withdrawn, there soon arrived the hour of the barbarian triumph, as is testified by Celt and Teuton alike. The invaders came, not in small groups that even the Romanised Celts in their disunited state could easily have dealt with, but in large and well-organised bands that in the end obtained the mastery over the Celts. Nennius says

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the invaders were constantly being reinforced, "the more the Saxons were vanquished, the more they sought for new supplies of Saxons from Germany. Kings, commanders, and military bands were invited over from almost every province, and this practice they continued till the reign of Ida." A statement by Bede implies that practically the entire Anglic people emigrated *en masse*—men, women, and children—no one being left to cultivate the land, for he says that the land "which is called Angulus" remained a desert till the day in which he wrote. Of these Angles and their fellow-robbers, the Saxons and the Jutes, he also says that they came from the "bravest nations of Germany." In another place, he mentions certain tribes from whom the Angles and Saxons "are known to have derived their race and origin," among them being the Frisians, the Rugini, the Danes, and *the Huns!* Modern Englishmen are not very ready to recognise the countrymen of Attila among their ancestors, although Scottish and Irish Gaels have many and sufficient reasons for remembering that "Hunnishness" has always been one of the most pronounced characteristics of English imperialism, as indeed it must necessarily be of all imperialisms. In this connection, it is curious to note that Dr. Beddoe found a Turanian or Mongoloid element mixed with the pre-Celtic anthropological types, an element characterised among other things by the well-known oblique eyes, straight hair, and broad cheek bones. But for the most part there seems to have been no important distinction between the various groups of invaders. They called themselves "Angelcyn," but the Celts called them by the other tribal name of

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Saxons. To the Gael, the English are "Sasunnaich" still, just as they are "Seison" to the Cymry.

The Teutonic conquest of England was not completed for some centuries. The Celts made a prolonged resistance, but at last succumbed to the English power. The conquest may be roughly divided into two periods, an earlier one, marked to a large extent by savage attempts at extermination, and a later period marked by less violent methods, due partly to the spread of Christianity in the seventh century, which put a slight check on methods of barbarism, partly owing to the fact that the hilly or more inaccessible districts to which the Celtic-speaking peoples were largely driven rendered successful defence far more possible, and partly, no doubt, to the fact that long decades of more or less constant struggle with the invader made the Celts more physically efficient and enabled them to shake off the enervating effects of the Roman domination, and to make a less unsuccessful stand against the Teuton.

The recorded statements of Nennius, Gildas, and Bede, allowing for an exaggeration inevitable under the circumstances in which they were compiled, may be taken as fairly descriptive of the first phase of the conquest. Gildas, for example, writes as follows:—"Some, therefore, of the miserable remnant being taken in the mountains were murdered in great numbers. Others, going, worn out by famine, to the enemy and yielding to them on condition that they would serve them for ever, if only they were not immediately slain, for this was the greatest favour they could obtain; others, wailing bitterly, passed over



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sea." The last sentence has reference in part to the Celtic migration to Armorica. "Others, committing the safeguard of their lives, which were in continual jeopardy, to the mountains, precipices, thickly-wooded forests, and to the rocks of the sea, remained still in their country."

The Englishman, Bede, indicated his recognition of the essential accuracy of this passage by practically embodying it in his history. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, again, records the extermination of the entire population of Anderida in 491 :—"Ælla and Cissa slew all that dwelt therein, not even one Briton was there left."

There seems, therefore, no room for doubt that, in some places at all events, the English practised a war of extermination. But it would be wrong to assume that this was the case everywhere, even in the first and more savage stages of the conquest. In connection with this subject of extermination, we must remember that the tendency of the ancient chroniclers was to record the abnormal rather than the normal, the extraordinary rather than the ordinary. Allowance must also be made for the fact that exaggeration, an overgreat indulgence in terminological inexactitudes, is nearly always a failing common to both victors and vanquished, even in the present supposed enlightened age. The remarks concerning extermination would apply more to the Celto-Roman military aristocracy, which inevitably suffered heavily, especially in the first stage of the conquest. The Celticised and partly servile population, the representatives of the dark Mediterranean race, would be spared to a certain extent

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in many places, in order to ensure the cultivation of the soil, even from the commencement of the conquest. Both Gildas and Bede state that some men were spared. In the later and less savage phase of conquest, this policy, apparently, was more prevalent, to judge from the statistics of nigrescence. Roughly speaking, the index increases on passing from east to west, the general direction of the barbarian invasion. The word "mattock," possibly of Celtic origin, may be traceable to the partial preservation of the agricultural population.

It has sometimes been supposed that the English spared the Celtic female population to become the wives of the conquerors. This policy, while likely enough in some cases, to judge from the presence in the English language of certain words, possibly of Celtic origin, connected with women's work, such as "darn," "cradle," "basket," "drudge," and a few others, was probably not by any means general. (The word, "drudge," if Celtic, throws a significant light upon the position of these Celtic women in an English household). In the first place, as we have seen, the Angles brought their women-folk with them. Under such circumstances, the existence of another generation of Englishmen being thus provided for, the invaders could indulge their passion for "seeing red", and butchering the entire population, women and children presumably as well as men, as they did at Anderida, on their own admission. In the next place, the English, as Bishop Stubbs observes, "declined the connubium of foreign races: they could not give to the strange woman the sacred prerogative of the German woman,

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let her cast their lots or rear their children. . . . The mere settlement of predatory bands without their homes and families must have resulted in their adoption of the institutions of the natives, those natives being their superiors in civilisation: they could not have reproduced pure German life and language from mixed materials; or retained their tribal organisation so long and closely as they did, if it had been shattered at starting." (*Constitutional History of England* I. 64, 65). The same distinguished authority quotes the ninth-century writer, Rudolf, in support of this view. Rudolf said that the Saxons "scarcely ever allow themselves to be infected by any marriages with other or inferior races."

The fact that the words of Celtic origin adopted by the English are so few is merely one of the many facts which point to the first stage of the conquest being especially distinguished by attempts at extermination and expulsion, attempts which were successful on the whole, but not by any means invariably so. If any large and influential Celtic-speaking population had been left in England in the early stages of the conquest, it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to account for such a small number of Celtic words in English, and for the comparative absence of Celtic place-names over large areas. This difficulty is sometimes evaded by assuming that the Celtic language had been dispossessed by Latin during the Roman occupation, and by pointing to the numerous Latin words in modern English as evidence in support of the theory that there was very little displacement of the Latinised population. But these Latin words are more reasonably accounted

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for as being due to the influence of the Church after the conversion of the English to Christianity. This view would apply also to the agricultural terms of Latin origin, such as "sickle," "coulter," "cherry," and "radish," the Church in those days being the sole educator of rude and barbarous peoples like the English, although some of these terms, no doubt, may be ultimately traceable to the spread of agriculture in the days of the Roman occupation, terms which were perhaps borrowed by the Celts and passed on to the English.

The supporters of the theory of the displacement of the Celtic language in Roman days, faced with the difficulty of explaining its survival in Wales, make the suggestion that it was reintroduced into that country by the sons of Cunedda and their followers. But this ingenious speculation fails to account for the late survival of Celtic in Cornwall, and in those other parts of England to which reference is made below, districts into most of which at least the influence of Cunedda and his followers did not extend as far as is known.

In Gaul, on the other hand, the Celtic tongue was undoubtedly displaced by the provincial Latin, a speech which survived the invasion of the Teutonic Franks and became the linguistic ancestor of modern French. The fact that neither Celtic nor Latin survived in mediaeval England, except as regards Celtic on the borders of Wales and Cornwall, and of course in Cornwall itself, and Latin as the language of the Church, points to the probability that, unlike the Romanized Gauls, the population, outside the areas just mentioned,



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speaking or supposed to speak either of these languages, was, to a large extent, displaced by the invaders, and, in those districts where it remained, was not in such a position of superiority, numerical or otherwise, as to ensure the survival of the language for anything more than a limited period.

Another fact pointing in the direction of a more or less exterminating phase of conquest is the complete abolition of the Christian religion in the conquered districts and the establishment in its place of the worship of the English heathen divinities. The pages of Bede bear witness to this fact. Bede also tells us that the English regarded Christianity as a religion of magic rites.

Finally, the statistics of nigrescence furnish evidence in itself quite sufficient to demolish the theory of a general, as opposed to a limited, survival of the pre-Saxon inhabitants of England.

Let us now turn to the consideration of the historical evidence for belief in the existence of Celtic-speaking communities in England in the days after the Teutonic conquest. We should naturally expect to find these communities chiefly in the west, the part of the country furthest removed from the German fatherland of the invaders, the part which, broadly speaking, they reached and subdued last of all, and then only in the later, less savage, stage of the conquest. This expectation is in accordance with the facts of the case. Cornwall, as already remarked, preserved its Celtic speech until a comparatively recent date. Even its English name indicates that it was a stronghold of the Celts. The syllable "wall," comes from the same root as the word

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"Welsh," meaning "foreigners," for so the English termed (absurdly enough) the earlier inhabitants of the land, whom they so largely dispossessed. But Cornwall itself was but a part of the territory known as "West Wales," which included the modern county of Devon, the name of which comes from the Celtic "Dyvnaint," and which also included at first part of the counties still further to the east. The English victory at Deorham in 577 separated "West Wales" from political connection with the country now known as Wales, but for long afterwards the people of Devonshire were not only Celtic-speaking to a large extent, but preserved other traces of Celtic associations. The neighbourhood of Dartmouth and the Cornish border were among the last strongholds of the Celtic language in Devonshire. In fact, on the Cornish border, the language continued to be spoken until the close of the sixteenth century, although it gradually died out over the greater part of the county at an earlier period. Much of South Devon was still Celtic-speaking at the time of the Norman Conquest. For many years, the city of Exeter was divided between the Welsh and the English, a division still traceable in the dedications of the churches. Until the time of Athelstan, who is said to have expelled the Britons from Exeter, even until a later period, according to some authorities, the Celts of Devon maintained a separate legal existence. They had their own law-courts. They entered into special arrangements with the English king of Wessex on matters affecting their national rights. The Welsh had their own council, the Raedboran, whose authority was for some time recognised by the English

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Witan as equal to its own. One compact made between the two bodies opens as follows:—"This is seo geraednes the Angel-cynnes Witan and Wealhtheode Raedboran between Dunsetan gesetton." Palgrave read the penultimate word as Devnsetan, and assumed it referred to the Devonshire men, but Thorpe and Beddoe were of opinion that the Wentsetas, probably the men of the Forest of Dean, were the people referred to. In any case, it is agreed that the compact was one made by the Welsh and English councils touching some Celtic-speaking community in or near West Wales. In the end, the "Home Rule" of West Wales was destroyed by the freedom-loving English, the *soi-disant* champions of small nationalities.

The will of King Alfred affords evidence that the Celtic-speaking communities of the south-west were not confined to Devon and Cornwall in his time. Alfred left to his younger son all his land in "Wealcynne bûtan Triconscire." The latter place is probably part of Somerset. Other places mentioned in the will, presumably inhabited at that time by Welsh-speaking men, were Ambresbyrig, apparently Amesbury in Wiltshire, and Stureminster in Dorset. The syllable "weal" or "wealth" is, of course, the same as the modern "Welsh."

The figures of nigrescence, so laboriously compiled and tabulated by Dr. Beddoe, show that Dorset, like Devon, is one of the more Celtic counties of England, and "contains districts where the pre-Saxon population was probably little disturbed." The same authority points out that the cephalic index, the ratio of the breadth of the head to the length expressed as a

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percentage, of the men of Devon differs to such an extent from the average index of an undoubtedly Teutonic community as to indicate in itself the possible existence of a population largely Brythonic. Here, as in so many other cases, we find anthropology and history mutually supporting each other.

The laws of Ina, a king of Wessex, also indicate the existence in his time, the concluding years of the seventh century, of a large body of Welsh-speaking men, probably in the west of Wessex. These laws dealt with the subject of intermarriage between the Celts and the English, and with the "wergeld," the amount of compensation for manslaughter, of the "Wealhas," the subject Celtic-speaking population, also referred to as the "Wylisc" men. With the English "wergeld," the ancient Gaelic "eric" may be compared. The laws state that the "king's horse-wealth who can do his errands, his wergeld shall be 200 shillings." Further, "if a Wylisc man have a hide of land, his wer shall be 120 shillings, but if he have half a hide, 80 shillings; if he have none, 60 shillings." Englishmen were rated at a higher value, their wergelds being 1200 shillings, 600 shillings, and 200 shillings. Some few Welshmen, however, those who were allowed to retain five "hides" of land, had a wergeld of 600 shillings, or, as the laws lucidly phrase it, "a wealh, if he have five hides, he shall be six-hynde." On these and other similar points, Mr. Seebohm's *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law* contains much valuable information.

In connection with the Celtic element in the west of England, it is interesting to note that at one time



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there was a Gaelic immigration from Ireland to such an extent that Glastonbury in Somersetshire, a reputed burial place of King Arthur, and one of the holy places of the West, was called by Gaelic writers *Glais* (or *Gloinestir*) *na nGaedel*, i.e. Glastonbury of the Gael.

The counties on the border of Wales received special treatment in Domesday Book, to a certain extent. The Celtic-speaking population frequently received separate mention, being enumerated apart from the villeins and freemen. A certain amount of Welsh is spoken in these counties to-day, and, until quite recently, Frankwell, a Welsh suburb of Shrewsbury, the ancient Pengwern, retained its separate laws and customs. Frankwell was a free town, as its older names "Frauncheville" indicates, where the Welsh could trade freely, outside the jurisdiction of the English trading companies of Shrewsbury. Writing in 1890, the late Sir Laurence Gomme remarked:—"Within the memory of aged, but still living, persons, it was inhabited almost wholly by a Welsh population, and Welsh, not English, was the language which visitors heard as they passed through the streets" (*Village Community*, p. 247). The Municipal "Reform" Act of 1835 abolished the trade distinctions. Mr. Seebohm points out that certain customs connected with the Celtic land-system are still in existence in the counties of Hereford and Gloucester (*English Village Community*, pp. 207-213). | | |

The forest of Arden in western Warwickshire was for long a Celtic stronghold. Stratford-upon-Avon lies immediately to the south-east. Its contiguity to such

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a Celtic centre, where Welsh was probably spoken for centuries after the English conquest, may perhaps have some significance in considering the origin of the numerous references to Celtic tradition and custom in the writings of its most famous son.

We turn next to the question of a Celtic survival in the counties lying more to the east. In ancient Mercia, there are traces of the "Wyliscmen" already mentioned in connection with the laws of Ina. The Fen district, the Isle of Ely in particular, was for some time a safe retreat for the harassed Celts, just as, centuries later, it was a camp of refuge for Hereward and those few Englishmen who had the courage to stand up against William of Normandy after the rout of Hastings. In a similar way, in our own time, the special characteristics of the Fen country have made it one of the last sanctuaries of certain rare birds and butterflies. Its almost trackless recesses were probably largely avoided by the English invaders, who found easier conquests elsewhere. An amusing legend in connection with the eighth century St. Guthlac demonstrates that speakers of a Celtic tongue still flourished in this quarter of England at that time. We are told that the saint's cell was surrounded at night by enemies. He thought from their speech that they were Britons, by whom the country was "infested," to use the phraseology of a Saxon scribe. Later on, he was much relieved to find that his nocturnal visitors were not Welshmen, but "only devils!" If the Welsh language had not been common in the neighbourhood, there would have been no point in referring to the speech of the visitors. Although the national prejudices of the writer of the

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legend did not allow him to say so explicitly, it is yet obvious that the infernal disturbers of the saint's repose, if they had any objective, as opposed to a merely subjective, existence, must have been *English devils*, since they were not Welshmen.

In the eleventh century, the district of Ramsey in Huntingdonshire was "infested by British thieves." The Thegna Gild regulations of Cambridge, of a probably slightly earlier age, refer to the subject of compensation for the killing of a Welsh churl. This again indicates the presence of a Welsh population. Of course, it goes without saying that it was much cheaper to kill a Welshman than an Englishman. The Welshman was only half price in the estimation of the English framers of the regulations.

One of the most remarkable features in connection with a map of nigrescence is the status of the counties of Hertford and Buckingham, to which reference has already been made. There is no historical evidence for the late survival of a Celtic-speaking population in these counties, but, considering the paucity of the eastern records, that is an objection of no very great value. Quite possibly, there may have been a very pronounced Celtic *enclave* here, for these two counties, together with those to the north, where, as we have just seen, there is historical evidence of a Celtic survival, form a sort of eddy, as Dr. Ripley has remarked, between the Fens on the north and the old London forests on the south. On the other hand, it was suggested by Mr. T. W. Shore that the English invaders would not be likely to neglect the means of access to these counties furnished by the Roman roads radiating

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from London. He suggested that the dark-featured people of these counties were the descendants of Wendish invaders from North Germany. The Wends are very dark to-day. In support of this view, it is pointed out that Bede, in a passage already quoted, mentions the Rugini, a Wendish tribe, as being among the ancestors of the English, and that Henry of Huntingdon, not always a reliable authority it is true, refers to the presence of Wandali in England, a people who are perhaps to be identified with the Wends. It is also urged that there are practically no Celtic place-names in these two counties, but that, on the other hand, there are some beginning with "Wend," such as Wendover, Wendlesbury, and Windsor, corresponding to names such as Wendorf and Wendemark in Germany.

As regards the northern counties of England, it is well known that Loidis and Elmet were two Celtic states which for some time preserved their independence. But Dr. Beddoe finds nothing pre-Saxon in them to-day. He thinks the Celts were probably driven out by Edwin. Nennius records the expulsion of Certic, king of Elmet, in 617. On the other hand, a small amount of evidence for a late Celtic survival in this neighbourhood is afforded by the Northumbrian Priest Law, which mentions certain people called the "Wallerwente." The law deals with the penalties attaching to the practice of heathen rites by a king's thane. The penalty was ten half-marks. If the accused person wished to deny the charge, he could receive the assistance of ten men nominated by himself, ten by his kinsmen, and ten others who must be "Wallerwente." The "Waller-



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wente" were "strangers" or "foreigners," as is evident from the first syllable of the name; they were also freemen, as otherwise their oaths could not be taken. Quite likely, they were also a Christian people of long standing, whose testimony in such cases would be of especial value. According to Mr. Seeböhm, "they were obviously the native Celtic inhabitants of the great plain of York, the *gwent* or basin of the Derwent and the Ouse, to the east of the ancient Elmet" (*Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 399). But this is far from obvious to Dr. Beddoe, who is of opinion that the Wallerwente were simply strangers in blood as distinguished from kinsmen, and that no reference to race or nation is implied (*Races of Britain*, p. 56).

On the other hand, the testimony of one of the Welsh Triads points definitely in the direction of a late Celtic survival within the bounds of the kingdom of Northumbria, or not far outside it. The Triad in question, referring to the Lloegrians, the ancient Celtic-speaking inhabitants of Northumbria and other parts of England, says that "there remained none of the Lloegrians that did not become Saxons, except those that are found in Cornwall and in the commot of Carnoban." The precise situation of Carnoban is uncertain. Sir John Rhys did not commit himself further than to say that it was somewhere between Leeds and Dumbarton. Dr. Beddoe suggests Craven in Yorkshire, or Carnaby or Cornaby in the Forest of Arden in Warwickshire. Pre-Anglian anthropological characteristics are found in both places to-day. Dr. Beddoe also points out that the Craven dialect contains many

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Celtic words, some common to the Welsh marches, and others to the Scottish lowlands. The name Carvoran, on the Roman wall in Cumberland, may possibly afford another clue to the identification of Carnoban. The Lloegrians have been identified by some writers with the Belgae, the supposed Celticised Germans of certain parts of the south and east of England. The Triad says most of them "became Saxons." This change would be merely of the nature of a reversion to type, if the double identification of the Belgae, with the Lloegrians on the one hand and with Celticised Germans on the other, holds good. In the ancient Celtic poems dealing with the south of Scotland, the Lloegrians are mentioned as attacking Strathclyde and Cumberland and as being in alliance with the Anglo-Saxons.

Further evidence for a Celtic survival somewhere in Northumbria, probably in Cumbria or Craven, is afforded by the North People's Law, where reference is made to Welsh wergelds, the amounts of which were very similar to those in force in Wessex. A "Wilisc man" with a hide of land had a wergeld of 120 shillings; with half a hide, a wergeld of 80 shillings; with no land, but yet a freeman, 70 shillings.

A reference to the maps of nigrescence of England and Wales, to be found in the works of Dr. Beddoe and Dr. Ripley, or to the brief summary of statistics previously given in this article, will be sufficient to show that there is a very marked coincidence between those districts where there is a relatively high index of nigrescence and those where there is either indisputable evidence of a comparatively late Celtic survival, or

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those more fortunate districts where the language survives to-day. This important identity, the reasons for which have been already explained, becomes all the more marked when we consider the parallel coincidence between the districts with a low index of nigrescence and those where we know from historical evidence that the Celtic element is either non-existent or so small as to be negligible. There is no need to go into details concerning these last mentioned areas, in one of which, Kent, an important Celtic survival has sometimes been assumed, however, on the ground of certain land customs, such as gavelkind. Ethelbert's code, about the year 600, refers to three grades of tributary peasants called "laets," whom some have supposed to be Celts. But Mr. Seeböhm points out that the "lazzus" or "laetus" is also mentioned among the continental Teutons, and the wergelds of the three grades correspond exactly in amount with those of the three classes of Norse "leysings" (*Tribal Custom*, pp. 463, 485).

The invasions and settlements by the Danes merely had the effect of somewhat increasing the Teutonic element in England. About this time, the surviving, but scattered, Celtic-speaking communities in England, except in the extreme west, on the Welsh border and in West Wales, became rapidly assimilated to their English neighbours in language and other ways. They "became Saxons" to employ the phraseology of the Triad. The change involved decay and degeneration in more ways than one, for the English were themselves a decadent people. Of the English nation's political incapacity and general degeneration, Dr. Hodgkin, a

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recent English historian, justly remarks that "the whole course of its history during the last century before the (Norman) conquest is sufficient evidence; and it is probably a symptom of the same general decay that, for two centuries after the death of Alfred, no writer or thinker of any eminence, with the doubtful exceptions of Dunstan and Elfric, appears among his countrymen. A tendency to swinish self-indulgence, and the sins of the flesh in some of their most degrading forms, had marred the national character." Yet the bestial people, of whom this severe condemnation is written, were those with whom certain decadent Celts, not only in England but also, at a somewhat later date, in the south of Scotland, rapidly began to assimilate themselves.

The political collapse after the battle of Hastings was the natural collapse of a degenerate people. It had also a measure of retributive justice, for an important contribution to William's army was made by the Bretons, the descendants of those Celtic speakers of the south and south-west of England, who, refusing to live under English overlordship, had fled oversea to Brittany, there to preserve their national independence for some centuries, as they do their language till the present day. In a similar way, one hundred and forty years ago, the descendants of exiled Gaels did much to expel English rule from what are now the United States of America.

The Normano-Breton garrison and army of occupation was not sufficiently large in itself to work any material difference in the racial composition of England, even if its racial complexion had been markedly different



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from that of the pre-existing inhabitants of that country. But in the hundred years or more after the conquest, Dr. Beddoe thinks there was a flow of migration of the lower class of freemen from Normandy, and that the proportion of Norman or French blood in the south and east of England in the days of Edward I. may have equalled 15 per cent. or even approached 20 per cent., perhaps giving an appreciable reinforcement to the dark broad-headed element (*Races of Britain*, pp. 133-5).

The statistics embodied in Domesday Book by the Norman conqueror throw a little additional light on the status of the Celtic remnants in England. To a large extent, they show that the proportion of slaves to the total number of people enumerated is greatest in those counties where there is evidence of a large Celtic population, and is correspondingly small in the Teutonic counties. This gives support to the view that many of the Celts were spared only to be enslaved by the English conqueror. For example, in Gloucestershire and Shropshire, the proportion is one to four; in Devon and Cornwall, one to five; while in Norfolk and Suffolk, regarded as a single area, it is one to twenty-five; and in Lincolnshire there is no mention of any slave population.

If we wish to obtain some rough idea, and from the nature of the case nothing more than a rough approximation can be made, of the relative strengths of the Celtic and post-Celtic populations at any time, such compilations as Domesday Book and the returns of the modern decennial census are indirectly of considerable value, owing to the two populations being to a large extent racially distinct, the present-day

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" Celts " being, as we have seen, predominantly dark-haired, and their Teutonic neighbours predominantly fair-haired. The total population of the counties in which the index of nigrescence is over 10, together with a half of the population in the counties with an index-range of 6-10, with smaller fractions of the population in the other groups, may be considered as giving a rough outside estimate for the strength of the " Celtic " population. Of course, although the first group of counties, those with an index over 10, suffered invasion or colonisation by the English to a greater or lesser extent, as history and place names and anthropological statistics alike record, yet this alien element may be considered as roughly balanced and neutralised by the existence of relatively small and insignificant dark-haired populations in counties, such as most of the eastern counties, now predominantly fair-haired and Teutonic.

Domesday Book gives no figures for the four counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, partly for the reason that these counties formed no part of the English realm at the date of compilation, as I explained in the last impression of this *Review*. Wales and Monmouth were excluded for similar reasons. London, Winchester, and other large towns were not included. The ecclesiastical population, and those dependent upon the Church in some way or other, were also omitted. Apart from exceptions such as these, the Domesday Book survey covered the whole country. Its figures for those counties of which the index of nigrescence is over 10, only amount to 78,281. The total for the whole of England,

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as far as it was enumerated, was 283,241. The addition of half the recorded population of the counties previously mentioned with an index range of 6-10, would merely raise the Celtic total by some 29,000, making it not much more than one-third of the whole. Even the further addition of one-quarter of the recorded population of the next group of counties, those with an index range of 0-5, would not give more than another 17,000, so far as statistics for those counties are given in Domesday Book. This last addition is probably a pronounced over-estimate for the possible Celtic element in these counties. It is thus clear that the Celtic element was very far from being in a majority at the time of the Domesday Survey. The figures just given must not be taken as representing individuals, for the Domesday statisticians were chiefly concerned with the tenants and occupiers of the ground and the large servile population. The figures rather represent families. To arrive at an estimate of the total number of individuals, the figures given should be multiplied by about five.

A similar result is obtained from a consideration of the census returns for the English counties, excluding Monmouth, which is properly part of Wales. The census of 1911 showed that in that year there was a total population of 4,452,380 in those counties, with an index of nigrescence over 10, *i.e.* in those counties where history proves the Celtic-speaking people to have chiefly survived the onslaughts of the Saxon invaders. The total population of England, excluding Monmouthshire, was 33,649,571 in 1911. As in the case of the Domesday statistics, a further estimate of

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one-half the population of the counties with an index between 5 and 10 may be considered an over-generous one for the Celtic element. This would involve an addition of some 6 millions. Another estimate of one-quarter of the population of the counties with an index between 0 and 5 as Celtic, would involve a further addition of  $3\frac{1}{4}$  millions. Even with these extremely generous estimates for a possible Celtic element in the two last mentioned groups of counties, our "Celtic" total only amounts to some  $13\frac{3}{4}$  millions, by no means a majority, although a large minority of the people of England. The actual total is probably much lower. This is in essential agreement with the opinion of Dr. Ripley, who says that, after two hundred years of Teutonic invasion, "it is probable, indeed, that more than half of the blood in the island was by this time Saxon" (*Races of Europe*, p 315). As the population of two important parts of the "island," viz., Scotland and Wales, is predominantly non-Saxon, whatever else it may be, it is a logical deduction that England is predominantly Teutonic in Dr. Ripley's opinion. Further, the "Celtic" population in England is very far from being pure and unmixed, for there has been a very large amount of cross-breeding with the Anglo-Saxon, especially in the east.

It is quite evident, therefore, that the "Celtic" element in England cannot possibly be in that large majority in which some of the Celts' hastily converted admirers in the English press, the quick-change artistes of English journalism, have temporarily affected to believe. I have already explained that I have employed the word "Celt" to indicate the descendants of those



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people who spoke a Celtic tongue within historic times, and that these people were predominantly non-Celtic in origin, being, in the main, merely the Celticised—and now the Anglicised—representatives of the dark-haired Mediterranean race. The “real Celt,” the representative of the “Celtae” of the classical writers, is indeed a *rara avis* in England. In Scotland, on the other hand, the representatives of the ancient Celtic-speaking peoples are in a large majority, although racially they are more diverse in their origin than in England.

In passing, I may perhaps note that, quite apart from anthropological characteristics, there are other differences to be observed between the two divisions of England, the Celtic and the Teutonic. There is the difference in the village-systems, for example. In Celtic England, we find, as a rule, no large villages, but merely isolated hamlets or homesteads scattered about the country. If most of the members of these hamlets and homesteads were to leave their homes and live together in larger communities, we should obtain as a result something very like the “nucleated village,” as they have been termed, of Teutonic England. That part of England was further distinguished by the presence of large “open” common fields. Some traces of this system are still to be found. Until comparatively recently, it was quite common. In Western and Celtic England, on the other hand, the fields are typically small, forming a notable contrast to the fields of the Teutonic system. The rural districts of Devonshire afford good examples of the Celtic system. The ideas of Celt and Teuton on the subject of the land-

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system were fundamentally different, as Scottish Gaels do not need to be reminded. Mr. Seeböhm points out another trace of Celtic influence in the English agricultural hidage based upon the system of co-operative ploughing and the team of eight oxen, a definitely Celtic custom (*English Village Community*, p. 117 *et seq.*)

In some parts of England, in passing from east to west, the place-names show an increasing proportion of Celtic names and a corresponding diminution in Teutonic names. In Somersetshire, for example, the place-names ending in "ton," a Teutonic suffix, show the slackening in the process of Saxon conquest. On the western border of the county, the number of these names is only one-half or one-third of the number in the east. In the neighbouring and much more Celtic county of Devon, the place-names also indicate the contact of the two peoples, some, in fact, like "Okehampton" and "Bridestow," being partly Celtic and partly Teutonic. The existence of a debased Celtic system of numerical notation in "counting-out" games and in the counting of sheep is another relic of Celtic England, like the comparatively large number of holy wells and other features more or less associated with Celtic culture.

Although the Celtic element in England is much larger than was at one time assumed, yet, at the same time, it is important to note that this element is chiefly "Celtic" now only as regards descent from a formerly Celtic-speaking people. The most important factors, those of language and separate political institutions, have long disappeared. Even in Cornwall,

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the Celtic language is now extinct, and in the rest of England, it died out centuries ago, except on the Welsh border. It has been everywhere supplanted by the tongue of the Germanic invaders, modified by the adoption of words swept up from the five continents. All modern languages borrow from each other to a greater or lesser extent, but English admittedly is the most hybrid and mongrel language in Europe. Again, the political, social, and legal institutions of England are not Celtic, except in some few and comparatively minor details, such as those mentioned above. Further, the English Church, as opposed to the older Celtic Church in England, has always been not only an English, but also an Anglicising institution. Its educational influence, especially since the so-called Reformation, has been uniformly bad, tending as it has done throughout to the depression of the Celtic element by means of the Teutonic ascendancy in ideas and culture.

The essentially Germanic character of English culture was well expressed by the late Bishop Stubbs, the distinguished English historical writer already quoted, when he remarked : " Not only were all the successive invasions of Britain, which, from the eighth to the eleventh century, diversify the history of the island, conducted by natives of common extraction, but, with the exception of ecclesiastical influence, no foreign interference that was not German was admitted at all. Language, law, custom, and religion preserve their original conformation and colouring. *The German element is the paternal element in our system, natural and political* " (*Const. Hist. Eng.*, p. 11). (The italics are

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mine). The exception referred to was, of course, Latin. In another paragraph, Dr. Stubbs was even more emphatic :—" *They (the English) are a people of German descent in the main constituents of blood, character, and language, but most especially, in connection with our subject, in the possession of the elements of primitive German civilisation and the common germs of German institutions.* Their descent is not a matter of inference. It is a recorded fact of history, which those characteristics bear out to the fullest degree of certainty " (*Ibid*, p. 2). Curiously enough, as regards a few of the best points of the German character, the English are markedly different, and inferior. For example, the modern German capacity for organisation and "efficiency," the German's zeal for education, and his zeal for learned research are virtues little practised in England, however servilely the less spiritual of them may nowadays be imitated in that country.

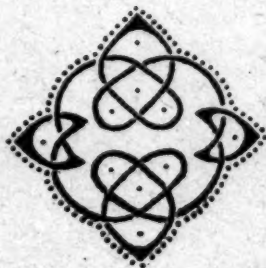
Dr. Stubbs perhaps underestimated the Celtic element in England, so far as descent is concerned, but, as we have seen, even in this respect, that element is in a decided minority. The bishop's summing up is just and scholarly. So German in fact, even as regards physical type, is the Teutonic Englishman, that a distinguished continental anthropologist once expressed to Dr. Beddoe a desire to come to England "in order to see *the true Germans.*" In other words, Germany is the social, political, and spiritual home of the Englishman, and, on the whole, his anthropological home also, whether he now likes to admit the fact or not. Just at present he does not like to admit it, as his mental balance, such as it is, has been much upset



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by his quarrel with his German kinsfolk, with whom, naturally enough, he aspired to ally himself a few years ago, and no doubt, will again seek to ally himself when business interests demand a change of front, or when his political and journalistic dictators order a reversal of the present attitude of ferocious hostility to all things German.

H. C. MAC NEACAIL



## *Anam-Bhrìgh na Pàirteachd*



E an dòigh is feàrr chum na firinnean suidhichte a bhuineas do'n rian Phàirteach a cho-chumadh ri cor na h-Albann? Is i so a' cheist a dh'fheuchas mi a nis ri a fhreagairt. Feumar aideach gu'm bheil an saoghal uile ag aomadh gu Pàirteachd. Is rian so mu'm bheil gach neach a' labhairt, gidheadh tha e anabarrach duilich a shuim agus a bhrìgh a thoirt seachad am beagan fhacal. O cheann chóig fichead bliadhna, dh'fheuch móran de dhaoine tuigseach solusach ri a mhìneachadh agus a shoillearachadh, ach chan fhiosrach mi gu'n deachaidh aig gin dhiubh air an taruing a bhualadh gu sgoinneil air a ceann. Mu'n urrainn duinn breth chothromach a thoirt a thaobh a fhreagarrachd ri Albainn, feumaidh sinn a bhi'n seilbh air fios agus eolas cinnteach a thaobh dé a tha'n rian a' ciallachadh. San t-seadh is farsuinge tha e a' ciallachadh gu'm bi an Stàid iomlan an cumhachd, agus gu'm bi i a' solar gach goireis a bhios feumail do'n phobull.

Chan ann idir o cheann bheagan linntean a thàinig beachdan Pàirteach gu bhi air an altrum agus air an craobh-sgaoileadh. Bha iad air an cur an céill le Socrates san t-seann aimsir, le Sir Tomas More san t-seathamh-linn-deug, agus le Campanella, Bacon, agus Harrington, san t-seachdamh-linn-deug.

## Anam-Bhrìgh na Pairteachd

Is beag mùthaidh a bh'eadar barailean nam feall-sanach ainmeil sin agus beachdan nam Pàirtearan a tha beo air an latha diugh. Anns gach linn gheibhte diadhairean eudmhor de chaochladh chreideamhan a bha cur air chois agus a' cumail suas comuinn agus buidhnean aig an robh gach maoin is earras gu léir an coitcheann. Anns na seann Stàidean Gréugach agus Rómanach chaidh rìoghachd a thilgeadh bun os ceann uair an déidh uaire, agus ghlac am pobull an riaghladh gu buileach 'nan làmhnan féin. Ach, ma rannsaicheas sinn iad an solus Pàirteachd, bha gach suidheachadh agus prìomh-riaghailt a bha, as ùr, air an toirt a staigh fad o bhi iomlan no foirfe. Cha do chuireadh cùl aig àm sam bith ri tràillealachd agus caochladh inbhean, agus cha robh na prìomh-riaghailtean air an stéidheachadh air co-ionannachd agus bràithreachas. Gidheadh bha iad a' nochdadh miann agus togradh air riantan agus modhannan a bhiodh na bu chothromaiche do'n Cho-fhlaitheachd na'n fheadhainn fo'n robh i thuige sud a' fulang.

Aig aon àm rinn na Gréugaich riaghailtean fo'm biodh uachdaranachd gach baile beag agus mòr gu buileach air guailne na muinntir a bha 'ga àiteach. Bha facal agus ùghdarras an cùisean nam bailtean air an toirt do mhóran dhaoine nach buineadh idir do na seann teaghlaichean. Bha na bailtean air an roinn suas 'nan deich "treubhan," agus bha gach aon dhiubh so a' taghadh leth-cheud fear dh'ionnsaigh na h-Ard Chomhairle—Comhairle-nan-Cóig-Ceud. Bha'n taghadh so air a dhèanamh gach bliadhna. A chum casg a chur air aintighearnas

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agus làmhachas-làidir, bha lagh air a dhèanamh a chum is gu'm biodh gach neach a gheibhte ciontach de eucoirean de'n t-seorsa so air am fògradh am mach as an dùthaich ré dheich bliadhna. Bha a leth-bhreac de riaghailtean agus de laghannan air an deilbh agus air an cur an cleachdadh le co-fhlaitheachd na Ròimhe, gidheadh bha e tuillidh is tràth gu Stàid sheasmhaich a chur air bonn fo riaghladh na Co-fhlaitheachd. Air an aobhar sin, cha robh a cuairt ach goirid. Cha robh am pobull fada gu leoir air an aghaidh an eolas agus am mìn-oileanl agus, as eugmhais rìghrean agus fhlaithen, cha bu chomasach dhaibh fantainn an tàth a chéie., Tha'n t-àm a nis air tighinn san dèan iad a ghnòthach gu gasda gun rìgh, gun tighearna, mar a th'air a làn dearbhadh am féin-fhiosrachadh nan Stàidean Aonaichte, na Frainge, agus àireamh de dhùthchannan eile. Ach a thaobh gach Stàid, shean no ùir, a bh' air a riaghladh an tomhas mór no beag leis an t-sluagh choitcheann, feumar a thoirt fa near nach robh cuid no gnothach aice ri Pàirteachd. Bha'n sluagh, mar gu'm b'eadh, a' rìoghachadh, gidheadh, cha robh iad a' riaghladh. Bha gach ùghdarras a' fantainn an làmhan nam maithean agus nam flaithean, agus 'nan làmhan-san bha, mar an ceudna, gach acair fhearainn agus gach àsuing ghniomhachais. Cha robh cuid no gnothach aig na cumantaich ri maoin no earras na Stàide. Bha àireamh bheag de theaghlaichean an seilbh air gach saibhreas agus stòras, agus do'n àireamh bhig so bha am pobull uile am feum ùmhlachd a thoirt agus seirbhis a dhèanamh.



## Anam-Bhrigh no Pairteachd

Ann *Les Origines du Socialisme Contemporain* tha M. Janet ag innseadh gu'n robh an sìol o'n do fhreumhaich Pàirteachd ná naoidheamh-linn-deug air a chur le Rousseau a bha beo san ochdamh-linn-deug, agus le a luchd-leanmhainn. "Tilgidh mi clach sa chuan," deir Lord Kelvin, "agus cuiridh i feadh an adhair crith agus gluasad a ruigeas gus na crìochan is iomallaiche de'n bhith-bhuantachd." San rathad cheudna, dh' fhaodadh Rousseau le firinn a ràdh gu'm biodh cuid de a bhriathran a' toirt am mach toraidh a bhiodh ri fhaicinn agus ri mhothachadh air feadh an domhain fad mhóran linntean. San *Discours sur l' Inégalité* thuirt e: "An ceud neach a dhùin a staigh cuibhrionn de fhearann agus a thuirt, 'Is leamsa so,' b'esan da-rìreadh a chruthaich an Stàid shìobhalt. Bhiodh an cinne-daonna air an teasairginn o iomadh truaighe agus bochdainn nan d'thàinig cuid-éigin an rathad, nan do shlaod e a nìos a' challaid, nan do lìon e suas na claisean agus 'nan d'éigh e gu h-àrd ri a chàirdean—' Chan eil san fhear so ach meirleach agus slaightire. Tha sibh caillte ri'r maireann mur cum sibh air chuimhne gu'm buin an toradh do na h-uile ach nach buin an talamh do neach sam bith seach a chéile.'" Leis na facail so, chuir Rousseau an céill, theagamh gun fhios da, an searbhadas, am fuath agus a' ghràin a bha tàrmachadh an cridheachan nam bochdan an lorg na giollachd a bha iad a' faighinn o luchd-an-earrais. Thug e, mar an ceudna, ceann-teagaisg do cheudan agus do mhilltean a thàinig, uidh air n-uidh, gu bhi ag altrum bheachdan Pàirteach. Tha cuid a' cumail am mach gu'n robh daimh nach bu

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bheag aig Ar-am-mach na Frainge ris na beachdan Pàirteach aig Rousseau. Is mearachd so a tha furasd fhaicinn. An àite rian Pàirteach a thoirt a staigh, is ann a chaidh luchd-an-earrais a shuidheachadh leis an Ar-am-mach na bu treise agus na bu tearuinte na bha iad roimhe. Gun teagamh, bha co-ionannachd air a shearmonachadh le móran de'n luchd-itil. Ainmichidh mi M. Babeuf, a bha 'na fhear-eagair air paipear-naigheachd. Tharruing esan am mach seol air son roinn chothromaich a dhèanamh air gach maoin agus earras. Bha e a' cur an céill nach biodh an t-Ar-am-mach coimhlionta gus an rachadh gach earras a thoirt a làmhan a' bheagain agus a chur an làmhan na Stàide. Ach, cha robh lànachd na h-aimsir air tighinn air son a leithid sud de shoisgeul, agus b'éiginn dha fulang air son a bheachdan. Chaidh a ghlacadh agus a dhìtheadh gu bàs, agus chaidh móran d'a luchd-leanmhainn a chur air fògradh.

Mu'n aon àm bha Raibeart Owen a' cur an céill a bheachdan adhartach anns na rìoghachdan so againn-ne. Bha e an seilbh air muillnean cotain, agus, d'an taobh so, thug e a staigh riaghailtean a bha, aig an àm, anabarrachd anasach agus dàna. Cha robh neach ri saothrachadh na b'fhaide na deich uairean gu leth san latha, agus cha robh obair ri thoirt do chloinn a bha fo dheich bliadhna dh'aois. Am measg na luchd-oibre thug e a staigh co-oibreachadh an ceannach bldh, aodaich, agus ghoireasan eile, agus chaith e móran de bheatha an deilbh ath-leasaichean de chaochladh sheorsan. Dh' fheuch e ri co-chuideachd Phàirtich a shuidheachadh anns na Stàidean

## Anam-Bhrigh na Pairteachd

Aonaichte. Thug e cuireadh do'n "mhuinntir dhìchiollaich agus do'n mhuinntir stòlda" de gach cinneach tighinn do Indiana chum tuineachadh mar aon teachlach mòr, càirdeil. Bha gach fearann agus eile ri bhi air an sealbhachadh an comaidh, agus bha roinn chothromach ri dhèanamh air toradh gach saothair. Ré nan ceud sheachdainean chaidh cùisean air an aghaidh gu réidh gasda. Bha na h-uile ag oibreachadh cho math sa bha 'nan comas: bha iad dìchiollach, oidhirpeach, agus bha an sìth mar abhuinn. Cha robh togradh aig neach air lunn-daireachd no dìomhanas. Bha pearsachan-eaglais ri'm faicinn a' treabhadh gu sgairteil le seisrichean dhamh, agus bha boireannaich, a fhuair an deagh thogail, a' teannadh ri banas-taighe—ri nigheadh is glanadh, ri fuineadh is gréidheadh. Ach ri ùine, thòisich féin-spéis ri i féin a chur am fiachaibh. Cha robh an spiorad so ri bhi air a mhùchadh le aon ionnsaigh, agus, am beagan mhiosan, rinn e an dunaidh am measg nam Pàrtearan. Bha amhaltas air na daoine crìonta, sicir, làidir, ri a bhi a' faicinn toradh an saothair air a roinn ri dream a bha 'gan comharrachadh féin air son leisg, mì-sgoinn agus ana-caitheamh. Bha àireamh de luchd-ciùil a' cumail am mach gu'n robh fuaim nan teud a' cheart cho feumail ri biadh is aodach, agus dhiult iad dol am mach do na h-achaidhean no a staigh do na taighean-gniomhachais. Bu mhiann le fear a chleachd a bhi 'na oid-oilein air feallsanachd a bhi a' labhairt am feadh sa bha càch a' saothrachadh. Bha luchd-ceird de'n bharail gu'n robh an obair-san dà uair cho luachmhor ri obair na feadhnach a bha tionnd-

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adh an fhearainn, agus, air an aobhar sin, nach biodh e ceart iarraidh orra oibreachadh ach a leth cho fada. An aon fhacal, thàinig gach neach, an ùine ghoirid, gu bhi a' cur air a shon féin, agus b' éigin do Owen aideach nach gabhadh an gnothach cumail air aghaidh. Mu'n d'thàinig ceann bliadhna, chaidh gach aon air ais chum an t-saoghail dhona, fhéin-spéiseil ris na do chuir e cùl. Cha d'thug Owen suas gach miseach agus dòchas. Chuir e buidheann de'n t-seorsa cheudna air a bhonn aig Yellow Spring, agus rinn caraid dha a leithid eile an Albainn—aig Orbiston, dlùth do Ghlaschu. Cha do mhair a h-aon seach aon dhiubh dà bhliadhna, agus chaill Owen mòran de chuid airgid air an tàilleamh. Gidheadh, cha do chaill e gu buileach a spiorad no a thogradh, agus thug e oidhirp an déidh oidhirp air a bheachdan Pàirteach a chur an cleachdadh an Sasunn agus an Eirinn. Bha'n t-aon sgeul ri innseadh mu gach aon dhiubh. Ghéill iad uile do eas-aonachd agus dubhailcean eile, mar a tha eud, farmad agus sannt. Bha iad gu léir gearr-shaoghalach, agus thàinig iad gu crìch an ceann bheagan mhìosan no bheagan bhliadhnachan.

Dh' fheuch iomadh aon eile bharrachd air Owen ri co-chuideachdan Pàirteach a stéidheachadh, ach chan eil ùine agam eadhoin ri an ainmeachadh uile. Feumaidh mi iomradh a thoirt, co dhiubh, air na deuchainnean a rinneadh leis an Fhrangach fhoghlumte ud, Tearlach Fourier. Chuir esan roimhe co-chuideachdan Pàirteach a chur air an cois, agus thug e mar ainm dhaibh *phalanxes*. Bhiodh 1800 pearsa anns gach *phalanx*: bhiodh iad air an roinn suas



## Anam-Bhrigh na Pairteachd

'nan grunnain a réir an caochladh thograidhean agus aignidhean, agus bhiodh iad uile fantainn san aon dachaidh ris an canta a' *phalanstérie*. Anns na Stàidean Aonaichte shuidhich e mu'n bhliadhna 1842, eadear fichead agus deich thar fhichead de *phalanxes*, agus, anns an obair sin, bha e air a chuideachadh le Albert Brisbane agus Horace Greeley. Cleas nam buidhnean aig Owen, ghabh iad thairis móran fearainn an ceàrnachan far an robh an sluagh tana. Thug iad a' chuid bu phailte de'n aire do threabhadh agus do àiteach, ach bha muillnean-sàbhaidh pailt 'nam measg agus, a réir coltais, a' pàigheadh gu math. Aig an deireadh thall, dh' éirich dhaibh uile mar a dh' éirich do na h-oidhirpean aig Owen. Dh' fhan cuid dhiubh an tàth a chéile fad dheich no dusan bliadhna, ach, aig an deireadh thall, chaidh iad uile am mutha, agus sin air tàille mi-chòrdadh agus aimhreit o'n leth a staigh. An déigh an Ar-am-mach a thachair san Fhraing sa bhliadhna 1848 cho-éignich Pàirteach ainmeil, Louis Blanc, an uachdaranachd gu taighean-gniomhachais, fo riaghladh na Stàide, 'fhosgladh am baile mór Pharis. Air son caochladh aobharan a dh' fhaodar a thuigsinn cha do sheas iad ach goirid.

Anns gach deuchainn air an d'thug mi iomradh, agus na h-uiread eile mu'm b' fhuasda labhairt, bha fàillingeann lìonmhor agus soillear—soillear an solus an latha diugh. Bha Owen, Fourier, Blanc, agus càch uile an geall air a' phobull a cho-chumadh ri raighailtean sònruichte a bha ion-mhiannach 'nam beachd-san. Cha d' thàinig e idir fa near dhaibh gur iad na riaghailtean bu chòir a bhi air an co-

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chumadh ri aignidhean, dòighean agus rùintean a' phobuill. Bha cuireadh farsuing air a thoirt do mhuinntir ionraic, onoraich as gach cinneach agus treubh tighinn an ceann a chéile agus tighinn beo gu bràth tuillidh gu sìtheil, ciallach, sona. Thigeadh iad o'n ear no'n iar, b'e am beatha, agus bha aca uile ri bhi an daimh bhràithrean agus pheathraichean. Cha robh suim no seadh air a ghabhail de'n càil no de'm mac-meanmna. Thachair dìreach mar a b'ion fiugh-air. Cha b'fhada gus an d'thàinig roinnean 'nam measg. Bu chùis an aghaidh nàduir nam maireadh bràithreachas daonnan eatorra, agus cha bu mhò na sin a mhair. Is e a' cheud nì d'am bu chòir aire thoirt ann a bhi cur air chois co-chuideachdan de'n t-seors ud gu'm biodh a' mhór-chuid de'n t-sluagh de'n aon ghnè, de'n aon fhàgail, agus de'n aon chinn-each. Faodaidh riaghailtean sònruichte còrdadh gu math ri aon dream agus gun chòrdadh idir ri dream eile. Tha e faoin agus ceàrr a bhi a' sparradh air muinntir laghannan agus reachdan a tha'n aghaidh am beachdan agus an inntinn. Cha d'rinn a leithid sin de ionnsaigh feum riamh, agus cha dèan gu bràth.

Chan eil e ceart a bhi ag ràdh gu'm bheil an rian Pàirteach air a dhìtheadh a cheann gu'n d'fhàilnich e an làmhan Owen agus a sheorsa. Bha e cho maith dhuinn a ràdh gu'm bheil Soisgeul-na-Sìth air a dhìtheadh do bhrìgh nach do chuir e fathasd stad air cogaidhean agus iorghuillean. Is ann aig Owen, agus cha b'ann aig an rian, a bha choire nach robh buaidh le a chuid oidhirpean Pàirteach, ceart mar is ann aig luchd-aidmheil a' chreidimh Chriosdail

## Anam-Bhrìgh na Pairteachd

a tha choire mur d' thug an Soisgeul gu crìch an nì sin a tha e a' teagasg. Cluinnear gu tric nach d' fhuair an creidimh Crìosdail riamh fhathasd cothrom ceart air e féin a dhearbhadh. Tha'n nì ceudna fìor a thaobh an rian Phàirtich. Cha d' thugadh cead no fàth dha gu a nochdadh co dhiubh bha stàth no éifeachd ann chum obair Stàide chumail air a h-aghaidh. Gun teagamh, tha e air a chur an cleachdadh an tomhas beag, ar aon leis an Stàid a thaobh obair na Postachd agus chùisean eile; le ar bailtean-móra a thaobh a bhi solar uisge, soluis agus gloine, agus le ar siorramachdan agus ar sgìr-eachdan a thaobh a bhi 'g amharc an déigh bhochdan, sgoiltean, rathaidean-móra, agus mhaorsainneachd-sithe. O thoiseach a' chogaidh rinn Pàirteachd adhart nach beag 'n ar measg, agus tha sinn a' tighinn, uidh air n-uidh, gu bhi 'g amharc oirre mar an iuchair a dh' fhosglas gach glas. Chan fhaodar àicheadh nach eil an rian so ag oibreachadh gu maith anns gach cùis sam bheil e air fheuchainn agus air a chleachdadh. Chan eil againn ach beachd a ghabhail air obair na Postachd. Nach ceutach a tha i air a riaghladh seach mar a bhiodh i nan robh e an cead neach sam bith litrichean a thional agus a liubhairt a chum a bhuannachd féin? Is grinn, snasail a tha ar sràidean aig an gleidheadh seach an uair a bha e mar fhiachaibh air gach neach a bhi a' cumail glan na cuid sin a bha ma choinneamh a dhorus. Tha ar bochdan gu mór na's sona agus na's comh-fhurtala na bha iad an uair a bha iad an earbsa gu buileach ri saor-thabhartas nan coimhearsnach.

Ged a tha so uile fìor, faodar a ràdh an cainnt

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choitchinn nach d' fhuair Pàirteachd riamh fhathasd cothrom ceart gu a deagh bhuadhan a dhearbhadh. Cha deachaidh fhathasd a h-aideach gu farsuing agus coimhionta le rioghachd no cinneach sam bith. Cha do ghlac Stàid sam bith fhathasd gach fearann, gual, agus meinn eile 'na làmhnan féin. Cha do theann Stàid sam bith fhathasd ri tighean-còmhuidh a thogail agus a shuidheachadh air mhàl air muinntir aig am bheil feum air fàrdaichean. Cha do ghabh Stàid sam bith làn sheilbh air rathaidean-iaruinn, amair-uisge, agus bàtaichean-smùide, agus cha mhò a ghabh i gnothaich ri muillnean cotain, gàraidhean-iaruinn, no reic is ceannach nan goireasan lìonmhor sin a tha feumail do'n phobull. Tha gach sluagh fhathasd an earbsa ach beag gu buileach ri luchd-an-earrais a thaobh gach bìdh, aodaich, agus cais-bheirt. Tha iad an earbsa ris an dream cheudna a thaobh cothrom siubhail air an ais agus air an aghaidh air muir is air tìr, a thaobh fasgaidh agus teine, agus a thaobh ach beag gach nì eile a tha feumail do 'n chlainn agus do'n inntinn. Tha gach Stàid fhathasd air a cumail air a h-aghaidh anns an tomhas is pailte fo fhacal luchd an fhearainn agus luchd an t-saibhris. Tha i air a cumail air h-aghaidh air son an dream so a ghleidheadh an seilbh air anabarr cumhachd, agus an luchd-oibre a chumail fo chis is fo smachd. Tha i air a gleidheadh air a h-aghaidh a chum tuillidh is tuillidh a thoirt dhaibhsan aig am bheil, agus chum na daoine falamh a chumail falamh—chum eadhoin “ an nì sin a ta aca a bhuntainn uatha.” Gu fìrinneach, cha deachaidh Pàirteachd fhathasd a chur gu deuchainn no dearbh-



## Anam-Bhrigh na Pairteachd

adh, cho fad is a tha riaghladh Stàide air a ghabhail a staigh. Ach, mar a thuirt mi cheana, tha beachdan dhaoine ag atharrachadh gu bras, agus théid an rian so a chàramh ri cor nan Stàidean móran na's tràithe na shaoilear an ceartair le daoine lag-mhisneachail. Tha iomadh comharradh againn gu'm bi e air uchdmhacachd leis na h-uiread de na cinnich mu'n téid móran bhliadhnachan seachad. Tha e a' fàs gu h-ealamh am modh, am meas, agus am miadh, chan ann a mhàin an aon cheàrn no aon dùthaich, ach anns gach ceàrn agus dùthaich.

Their mi a rithisd gu'm feumar an Stàid Phàirteach a dheilbh agus a chumadh ri gnè agus càil a' chinnich, agus nach e an cinneach a dhèanamh co-chosmhail ris an Stàid. Is e a tha mi a' ciallachadh nach freagair an t-aon suidheachadh no na h-aon phrìomh-riaghailtean do gach cinneach. Chà ruigear a leas móran breathnachaidh gu fhaicinn nach e an aon ghnè no an aon chàil a thaobh sluagh-iuil a th'aig na Ceiltich agus na Teutonaich. Tha mi ag ainmeachadh na dithis so a cheann gu'm bheil againn uile a bheag no mhór de aithne agus de eolas air an dòighean fa leth. Chaidh feuchainn ri lagh-annan agus riaghailteann Teutonach a sparradh air Eirinn agus air Albainn—a tha le chéile buileach Ceilteach—ach b'oidhirp i air nach robh móran rath no soirbheachaidh. Tha an samhladh càirdeis a th'eadar an dà chinnich air a chumail suas leis an làimh-làidir—le prìosanachadh, le cìosnachadh agus le neart an airm. Is gann gu'm bheil aca latha subhach no sona. Is amhuil sin is mar a thachradh do chinnich eile a tha eadar-dhealaichte a thaobh

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eachdraidh agus chleachdaidhean nan rachadh an ceangal suas fo'n aon rian. Cha b'ion fiughair a bhi ri nì ach aimhreit agus ciorram.

Tha na Teutonaich, ar aon sa' Ghearmailt agus an Sasunn, soitheamh, còir, coma, cho fad sa tha cùisean sluagh-iùileach air an gabhail a staigh. Tha iad stòlda, riarachta, socrach, agus daonnan deas, ullamh, gu ùmhlachd choimhliont a thoirt do'n àrd-uachdaranachd. Ma tha an rìgh aig àm sam bith a' tagradh cumhachd iomlan, cha chuir iad mòran na aghaidh, agus leanaidh iad e gu còmhraig agus cogadh, gun fhacal fheoraich a thaobh an aobhair. An cùisean Stàide, tha iad cho ciallach, àrsaidh, stòlda, ri dream sam bith air am bheil eachdraidh a' toirt iomraidh. Is iad is fhasa a stiuradh agus a riaghladh de gach pobull a tha'n diugh air uachdar an domhain. Gun teagamh, air aon dhòigh no dhòigh eile, chan eil an Sasunnach cho buileach soirbh, aontachail, ri a charaid, an Gearmailteach; gidheadh, tha iad le chéile nan eisimplearan sònruichte air muinntir a chòrdas gu math an cùisean sluagh-iùileach. Do bhrìgh gu'm bheil iad daonnan strìochta, toilichte, fo fhacal an luchd-riaghlaidh, tha an tlachd an cogaidhean, agus ann an cruthachadh agus ann an cumail suas ìmpireachdan. Tha iad le chéile Prùiseach 'nan rùintean agus 'nan cruth-smaointean. Is e barail an àrd-uachdarain is lagh dhaibh. Chan eil dìth no déidh aca air a bhi a' smaointeachadh air an son féin no air àrd fhacal a bhi aca anns an Stàid.

An gnothaichean de'n t-seorsa so, tha na cinnich a tha tuineachadh air taobh deas na Roinn Eorpa

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tur eadar-dhealaichte o na Teutonaich 'nan aignidhean agus 'nan cruth-smaointean. The so air a leigeadh ris gu riochdail le eachdraidh na h-Eadailte, na Frainge, na Spàinne, agus Phortachail. An lorg nàdur luaineach sgaomach nam pobull, bhris an Impireachd Rómanach suas 'na bloighean. Rinn an Fhraing, uair is uair, ar-am-mach an aghaidh nan cumhachdan a bh'ann; bha an Spàinn gu minic air a riasladh le cònnspaidean iarguineach, agus thog Portachall sàil na ceannairc, aig caochladh àmannan, an agaidh a h-àrd riaghladairean. Cha robh muinntir nan tìrean so riamh sona, riarichte fo rìghrean no fo ìmpirean, oir bha e glan an aghaidh an càil agus an inntinn a bhi fo chuing aig neach sam bith. Chan e gu'n robh iarrtus no togradh aca gu bhi a faicinn Stàid Phàirteach air a suidheachadh. Cha do nochd iad sùrd no othail sam bith a thaobh a leithid sin de atharrachadh. Bha an aomadh na bu mhò an rathad Ain-riaghailt—an rathad gach neach is gach buidheann a bhi 'nan lagh is 'nan reachd daibh féin. Ma bha iad ri bhi air an cumail an taice a chéile, an gràdh agus an sìth, bha e feumail gu'm biodh na còrdaibh leis am biodh iad ceangailte min, aotrom, so-iomchaire. Cha dèanadh an "rùdan iaruinn" maith sam bith am measg a leithid sud de shluagh. An cogadh no'n sìth cha robh a dhìth orra bhi fo smèig aig ìmpire no àrd-thighearn. Tha'n spiorad àrdanach, neo-eisimeileach, so cho làidir, follaiseach am measg pobuill an taoibh dheas air an latha diugh is a bha e aig àm sam bith. Chan eil 'ga dhìth ach aobhar agus lethsgheul gu e féin a chur gu riochdail am fiachaibh. Gheibh sinn iomadh

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comharradh air so am measg nam Frangach. Chì sinn e an lìonmhorachd nan riantan Pàirteach a th'air an teagasg agus a tha tagradh mòran luchd-leannmhainn. Tha àireamh mhór a' toirt géill do'n t-soisgeul aig Fourier, àireamh mhór 'gan ainmeachadh féin air Blanc, agus àireamh mhór a' triall gu moiteil fo'n bhrataich a thogadh an toiseach le Proudhon. Tha àireamh mhór eile 'nan deisciobail aig caochladh cheannardan. Mar sin cuideachd am measg nan Eadailteach. Anns an Spàinn, a rithist, chithear gur i Ain-riaghailt agus a cuid fàidhean is caomha leis a' phobull na Karl Marx agus an t-àrd-bheachd a bha aige—An Stàid *über alles*. Ach, chan ann mar sin a tha chùis am measg nan Gearmailteach. Chan eil togradh sam bith acasan gu bhi a' briseadh suas 'nan roinnean. Amhuil mar a' bhàirneach ris an sgeir, mar sin tha iadsan a' dlùth-leantainn ris an teagasg a dh'fhàgadh aca le Karl Marx. Tha iad cho socrach stòlda an cùisean sluagh-iùileach is a tha iad an cùisean a bhuineas do'n arm agus do chogadh.

Gabhamaid a nis beachd air Ceiltich na h-Albann, na h-Eireann agus na Cuimrigh. Is eagal leam gu'm bheil iad gu mòr fo bhuaidh an spioraid reasgaich luasganiach leis am bheil na Frangaich, na Spàinnidh, agus na h-Eadailtich air an gluasad. Chan eil sin iongantach, oir tha iad gu léir, an tomhas mòr no beag, de'n aon t-sìnnse agus de'n aon fhuil. Cha robh sluagh na h-Albann riamh comharraichte air son an dilseachd do'n "chrùn." Is i an fhìrinn gu'n robh iad comharraichte air son an mì-dhìlseachd. O linn Choinnich Mhic



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Ailpein, eadhoin gus an latha diugh, bha iad 'nan dragh agus 'nan campar spioraid do na rìghrean agus na h-àrd luchd-ùghdarras. B'iomadh reachd a rinneadh agus b'iomadh feachd a chuireadh, ri àm nan Seumas, a chum an gleidheadh umhail; ach ged a rachadh an closnachadh agus an ciùineachadh an diugh bhriseadh iad am mach an àite ùr am màireach. Bha iad cho duilich a chumail fo smachd is gu'm b'e éiginn do Sheumas VI. aithne a thoirt do Iarla Hunndaidh teannadh air falbh gu tuath agus "sluagh na dùthcha" a thoirt gu aithne air an dleasnas, chan ann le còrdadh no cùmhnant, ach "le an gart-ghlanadh am mach gu buileach." Chaidh an gart-ghlanadh am mach, ach cha b'ann aig an àm ud. Ged a bha iad daonnan neo-umhail, neo-strìochta, cha b'ann a cheann gu'n robh fuath sònruichte sam bith aca do na rìghrean Stiubhartach, ach a cheann gu'n robh e an aghaidh an gnè agus an nàduir a bhi fo riaghladh Stàide idir. An uair a thionndaidh an roth an aghaidh nan Stiubhartach, b'iad na Gàidheil a' cheud dream a chaidh 'nam pàirt. Sheas iad gu claidheamh as an leth an 1715, agus a rithisd an 1745. Cha robh iad air am buaireadh air son rìgh sam bith—dhèanamh iad an gnothach gu gasda as 'eugmhais—ach, ma bha a leithid de neach ri bhi an ùghdarras thairis orra, b' fheàrr leo an t-olc eolach na an t-olc aineolach.

An uair a dh' fhairtlich orra an crùn a ghleidheadh do'n teaghlach bu docha leo, theann iad ri dragh a thoirt seachad an rathaidean eile. An turus so thug iad an aire do chùisean cràbhach, agus chuir iad rompa nach biodh cuid no gnothach aig an Stàid

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ri am modh aoraidh-san. An 1843 chuir iad ach beag mar aon duine cùl ris an Eaglais Stéidhichte, agus, le mór dhealas, bhóidich iad géill a thoirt do eaglais eile a shaoil leo a bhiodh gu buileach fo am facal féin. Bha iad cho trang a' cur air dòigh eaglais-ean is nach do mhothaich iad idir gu'n do ghabh na h-uachdarain fhearainn fàth agus cothrom gus an tuath cheatharn a chur as an gabhaltais agus am fuadach thar sàile do dhùthchannan coimheach. An uair a dhùisg iad as am breislich, bha an nead air a creach, bha na glinn, na raointean agus na sraithean fo chaoirich, agus bha sìol nan sonn 'nan allabanaich bhochda a' gearradh coille agus a' leaghadh sneachda an Albainn Nodha agus an Ceap Bhreathuinn. Cha do chòrd so ach dona ris an iarmad a bh'air am fàgail. Thug iad fa near nach beathaichear neach no sluagh le eaglaisean a mhàin, agus, gu grad, chunnaic iad cothrom ùr air buille cruaidh eile bhualadh air an Stàid. An 1882 thòisich iad air an fhearann a thagradh mar an cuid féin, agus theann iad ri strìth a dhèanamh gus na h-uachdarain a thoirt gu talamh. Chathaich iad le an uile chridhe agus le an uile anam, agus ar leo nach biodh iad beo latha mur faigheadh iad còir air an cuid de'n fhearann. Bha iad cho dàna, ladurna agus gu'm b'éiginn do'n Stàid Shasunnaich an toiseach luingis-chogaidh a chur gu tuath a chum an toirt gu modh-alachd, agus a rithisd Achd Pàrlamaid a dhèanamh a chum cuid bheag a thoirt dhaibh de na bha iad a' sireadh. An uair a chaidh beagan aideachaidh a thoirt, mar so, do an cuid tagraidh, shìolaidh agus chiuinich iad slos ceart cho ealamh agus a dh'at

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iad an àird. Eadar sin is so tha iad sìtheil, suaimhneach, tosdach, ach chan eil fios dé an latha no an uair san dùisg iad a rithisd suas le buaireas agus corruich.

Am feadh is nach robh na Ceiltich Albannach riamh dìleas, seasmhach a thaobh rìghrean no àrd uachdarain, bha iad daonnan caomhail, tairisneach ri an teaghlaichean agus am fineachan fa leth. Air sgàth an cinn-chinnidh rachadh iad gu toileach an coinneamh cunnairt agus bàis, agus b'e an gnàth a bhi umhail da fhacal agus da òrduighean. Tha iomradh againn air seachdnar bhràithrean a mhuinntir Mhuile a sheas, aon an déigh aoin, eadar Tigh-earna Dhubhairt agus na saighdean aig cath sònruichte, a h-uile fear ag éigheachd mar a bha e a' tuiteam, "Fear eile air son Eachainn." Chuala sinn mu bhoireannach bochd a dh' iarr air a fear-pòsda an sgàlan a "dhìreadh mar dhuine chum saod a chur air an fhear-chinnidh." Bha a fear-pòsda ri chrochadh air son goid chaorach. Có dhiubh tha no nach eil na sgeulan so fìor, tha iad a' leigeadh ris an spiorad gràdhach umhal a bha na sean Ghàidheil ag altrum a thaobh na muinntir aig an robh àrd chumhachd san fhìne d'am buineadh iad. An aon fhacal, bha na Gàidheil dìleas daimheil ri chèile cho fad is a bha teaghlaichean agus fineachan air an gabhail a staigh, ach an taobh am mach dhiubh sin, cha robh an comas-tàlaidh a bha 'nam measg ach lag, meata. Bha eadhoin an dara fhìne air a sgaradh o'n fhìne eile, air chor is gu minic gu'n robh mì-chòrdadh agus naimhdeas eatorra. Cha bu nì iongantach sam bith daibh dol am mach le claidh-

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mhnean agus bataichean chum aicheamhail a thoirt do a chéile. Cha bu chaomh leo a bhi co-cheangailte san aon Stàid. Is e an cliù a bhuineadh daibh gu robh iad air an gluasad tuillidh is tric le eud, farmad, àrdan, agus uabhar. Bha iad sònruichte neo-eisimeileach agus mór-chuiseach. Bha iad teoma air a bhi dèanamh moit as an cinneadh is an càirdean air mhodh a chuireadh campar agus tàmailt air muinntir eile.

Is dubhailcean iad so a tha comharrachadh am mach Chlannaibh nan Gàidheal eadhoin gus an latha diugh. Anns gach comunn a chuireas iad air bonn tha eud agus farmad gu h-ealamh 'gan cur féin am fiachaibh. Tha h-uile fear air son a bhi an àrd ùghdarras, co dhuibh a tha no nach eil e freagarrach gu dreuchd a ghabhail. Mu'n d'thig ùine fhada is e a thachras, an dara cuid gu'n téid an comunn gu buileach ma sgaoil, air neo gu'm fàgar e le àireamh de na buill is comasaiche agus is saothraiche. Tha againn deagh eisimplear air an nì so sa' Chomunn Ghàidhealach. Aig caochladh àmannan chaidh a thréigsinn le fearaibh eudmhor comasach nach b'urrainn dha ach dona a sheachnadh. Dh'fhàg iad e a cheann gu'n robh e duilich daibh féin agus do chuid eile de na buill a bhi réidh no aonaichte. Gu deimhin, théid dùthchas an aghaidh nan creagan, eadhoin gus an fhicheadamh ginealach.

Tha'n t-eud, am farmad, an t-àrdan, agus an t-uabhar a tha nàdurra do na Ceiltich ri ghleidheadh gu dlùth air chuimhne an uair a dh' fheuchar ri Stàid Phàirtich a dheilbh as leth na h-Albann. Feumar a chuimhneachadh nach eil na Ceiltich a

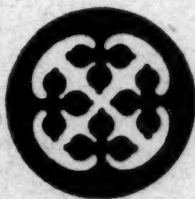


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leth cho furasd a ruith an acfhuing dhùbailt ri an coimhearsnaich, na Teutonaich. Feumar a chuimhneachadh nach bu chaomh leo riamh smachd no mùiseag an rìgh no nan àrd-uachdaran. Air an aobhar sin, feumar uallach an Stàide a dhèanamh aotrom daibh, agus a cuing so-iomchaire. Ma tha an Stàid Cheilteach ri seasamh, is còir dhi a bhi ach beag cho aocoltach ris an Stàid Theutonaich is a tha'n latha ris an oidhche. Bidh i na's coltaiche ris na stàidean a thoghar leis na cinnich air taobh deas na Roinn Eorpa. Ach feumaidh i a bhi air a stéidheachadh air Pàirteachd.

Dh' innis mi an nis cuid de na cunnartan is còir a sheachnadh an cur air bonn Stàid Phàirteach air son na h-Albann. Anns an ath àireamh bheir mi oidhirp air a chomharrachadh am mach ciod iad na prìomh-riaghailtean a bhiodh da-rìreadh freagarrach air son ar dùthcha agus ar cinnich.

A. M. E.



## *Chronicles of the Quarters*

### *The Psychology of Socialism.*

Our Gaelic contribution to the present number consists of a study of the psychology of Socialism by Aonghas Mac Eanruig, whose reputation as a political writer stands deservedly high with the Gaelic-reading public. Attention is drawn to the fact that the civilised world of to-day is rapidly gravitating towards Socialism, which leads the author to enquire how it is that definitions of the term are apt to vary as much as they do. The fluidity of current political opinion in this respect is, however (he remarks), counter-balanced by a certain rigidity of doctrine, whose principal characteristic or feature is the theory of the supremacy of the State as Lord of all and Universal Provider. From these beginnings our writer goes on to outline the various forms of Socialism now in vogue, and to canvass the several attempts, and the successive failures of them, that have been made to realise the Static Socialist idea and ideal. Our contributor concludes that where it has been tried, Socialism has hitherto broken down, not because of its own inherent defects, but by reason of the extreme doctrinaire character of the experiments that have been made. In a word, too much attention has been paid in the past to paper Socialism, and not enough to human character and man's foibles and weaknesses.

The elucidation of these various points naturally leads our contributor to his main theme, which, as we have already indicated, is the psychology of Socialism. He takes the map of Europe, and on the foundation so provided him, discusses the psychological incidence of Socialism. The Static theory or ideal he is not surprised to find strongest in Germany, where Karl Marx leads the teeming Socialists of that empire. He shows that the Static theory is strongest in the Teutonic countries, and explains the phenomenon in the light of racial temperament and idiosyncrasy. The German tendency to "Positivism" in Socialism is also reflected (he argues) in England, another Teutonic country, where the conception of the State as ultimate lord and father of all rapidly gains ground. The German readiness to place the State *über alles* is counterparted (he contends) in that people's present subservience to Militarism,

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whose theoretic connexion with State Socialism he conceives to be close and "inevitable." He notes in this connexion the contemporary English tendency towards militant "Prussianism," and assigns it also a racial origin.

The Socialism of France, Italy, and Spain are next brought under rapid review, and the psychological differences distinguishing Northern from Southern Socialistic Europe are ably summarised. It is shewn that whereas Germany and the Teutonic States generally incline to Karl Marxism and State absolutism translated into Socialistic terms, the other countries we have named incline, for a corresponding reason, to divisive Socialism, Individualism, and Anarchism. In France, as opposed to Germany, the Socialists are split up into a number of "Schools" or factions; the same phenomenon is observable in Italy and Spain, and racial temperament and idiosyncrasy are again resorted to in order to explain the facts governing the political conditions in those countries, so far as these latter affect the Socialist parties. Our contributor concludes his able and suggestive study with the reflexion that the Celts (Scots, Irish, and Welsh peoples) are more likely to endorse some one of the many brands of Socialism that obtain in Southern Europe than they are likely to subscribe to the rigid formalism of Karl Marx and the Teutons, with the spirit of which they can have but little real sympathy by reason of a racial temperament which tends to estrange them from the fulness of the Static idea. He gives very cogent reasons, drawn from history and personal observation, why the future polity of the Celts, tinged largely with Socialism though it is bound to be, will seek an outlet rather through a modified and improved form of Anarchism than *via* any other channel, though he implies that the leading economic Socialist (Karl Marx) conception of the abolition of Capitalism is certain to form an integral part of any Celtic polity that the near future may bring forth. His concluding words amount to a promise to attempt the elucidation of a Celtic polity which shall be based, not on mere doctrinaire opinion drawn from the existing "schools," but on a practical knowledge of Celtic human nature, conjoined with a due regard for the trend of existing world tendencies in the sphere of general politics.

### *The Lichnowsky Revelations.*

"The perusal of Prince Lichnowsky's memoranda, which have raised a storm of abuse against the ex-Ambassador throughout

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Germany, should convince the most hardened pacifist that this country cannot be held even remotely responsible for this terrible war." The above excerpt is from *The Welsh Outlook* for May last, and is a fair specimen of the sort of comments to which the revelations in question have given rise in some quarters. For our part, however, we were not aware that pacifists, "hardened" or otherwise, entertained opinions regarding this matter in any way different to those which we ourselves have held ever since the beginning of the war. Surely the most casual and inattentive student of English politics cannot but be aware of the fact that the pivot of English pre-war foreign policy was supplied by that nation's desire to preserve the peace of that portion of the globe from whose possible collisions serious injury to its own material interests was to be apprehended and feared? Peace being the obvious policy of the English government and people we can well believe that Sir Edward Grey and his friends strove mightily in order to avert the bursting of the storm which descended in the early days of August, 1914, and has continued, to the ruin of the civilised world, even unto these times. But, whilst we are quite prepared to believe that the English Government was averse from war, and would indeed think little of the intelligence of any one who should argue to the contrary, we are by no means ready to endorse some of the implications to which scribes, such as the one whose comment we quote above, would doubtless like to commit us. In the first place, we find nothing in historical precedent, or recent political practice, in the least degree inconsistent with the opinion that the organised pursuit of peace on the part of England was at any time irreconcilable with the policy which Germany alleges England to have pursued as regards herself. In the second place, consciousness of England's desire to prevent the present war does not in the least degree blind us to the fact that on many previous occasions she has been guilty first of fomenting, and then of prolonging, them for her own selfish ends. "The policy of the Borgias and the Medici (says a recent writer in the *Quarterly Review*) could scarcely be more coolly or deliberately perfidious, or, on occasion, murderous, than the Tudor policy which fomented anarchy in Scotland"; and without being at the unnecessary pains of piling up the agony of historical precedent in this unpleasant fashion, it is sufficient to remark that England's political "past" is of such a nature as to leave her no choice



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to cultivating an absolute and discreet silence where the delinquencies of other nations are concerned. The spectacle of an elderly bandit who has retired from business on his gains, and is intent only on their preservation in his own hands, going about to denounce those who, younger members of the same nefarious trade, would despoil him in his turn, is not particularly edifying, however amusing it may be.

### *Imperialism the Enemy.*

So far, then, as we are concerned, the much trumpeted Lichnowsky Revelations leave us critically cold. If the avowal that Germany strove for war, and England for peace, four years or so ago, pleases anyone, we are quite prepared to make it, subject of course to such reservations and explanations as we have proffered above. Our immediate concern, however, is not with Germany or England, but with the system of public plunder and spoliation which both impartially support, and which passes in the world under the name of Imperialism. The true origin of the war is, we hold, to be found in that system, and until it is abolished it is vain to hope to purge the world of the villainous institution, by which that system is sustained and kept in being. Mutual recriminations between the nations touching responsibility as regards the actual outbreak of the present war are much to be deprecated in the interests of the common endeavour that must be made to rid society of the system or polity at whose door lies the unspeakable crime of causing the war. "Who names a people," says Guicciardini in his *Ricordi*, "names truly a fool, a monster full of confusion and errors." Too often in the past has the people justified that severe censure of themselves; and they will justify it again if they do not cease to bandy recriminations (which please no one but their exploiters), and, leaving the dead past to bury its dead, set to work to erase Imperialism from the category of tolerated political institutions.

### *Peace by Internationale.*

We confess to being not a little tired of the squabbles of "Majority" and "Minority" Socialists; and the inaction that has fallen upon the limbs of the International in consequence thereof pleases us not. A strong and united International means a speedy peace, and one honourable and satisfactory to all; but so long as

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the workers of the world allow themselves to be split up into "Majorities" and "Minorities," just so long will they be the easy prey of those who design to work them ill. Just so long, too, as they allow themselves to be divided by designing persons will it be possible for ridiculous figures like Havelock Wilson and the still more laughable "Captain" Tupper of the Labour Horse Marines to pose and posture on the workers' stage. At the present time, the International is sick, and to pretend that all is well with it is absurd. Its principal ailment consists in a certain want of moral tone, and, for a cure, we recommend a study of its originals. The International should be drawn back to the principles and spirit that characterised it in the early days of its existence. In the year 1871, Franckel, a Prussian, was raised to a seat in the governing body of the Paris Commune. That was a truly "International" stroke, and was one well calculated to put to shame those who now bluster and boggle whenever the suggestion is put forward that the avenues of the International should be freely opened to conference and counsel on the part of one and all who have a right to resort to it. We beg leave to inform the workers' world that Peace by International, which might easily be brought about, will be impossible so long as "Majorities" and "Minorities" are not moved by the international spirit, and allow themselves to become, and remain, the silly dupes and bubbles of those whose interest is Capitalism and Imperialism.

### *The International and a "League of Nations."*

It would appear, judging by some "revelations" that have recently occurred in the European press, that Capital, as Imperialism, is closely watching the growth and spread of the "League of Nations" idea. Needless to say, both these fell institutions hope to squeeze that orange, when it shall be ripe, if ripen it ever does. For our own part, we rather deprecate, than encourage, this "League of Nations" idea. We distrust the men at the head of it, and knowing that money in the lump talks everywhere not only economic balderdash, but twaddle designed to set the workers by the ears, we pray for the speedy coming of a sharp frost of criticism to nip this mischievous idea in the bud. The principle or germ of a true League of Nations is to be found in the International. It is for the workers (brain and manual) of the world to improve that principle so that it may flourish as did the mustard seed

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of old, which grew so mightily that at long last its branches afforded shelter and protection to all the birds of the air.

### *Na Ceiltich am bonnaibh a chéile.*

Our comments touching the above matter may well serve as introduction to some brief remarks which, as they must be made some time or other, we may as well utter at the present conjuncture. The idea of what is styled a "British" or an English-speaking Commonwealth has, doubtless, much to recommend it on the particular grounds which one and all will associate to it. Far be it from us to say a word against it; on the contrary, we wish it well, and hope it may succeed; but it is important that those who are concerned with the diffusion of this idea should clearly understand and realise, as early in the day as may be, that the Celts have no intention of joining it. We are out to dethrone in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, the Teutonic language, culture, and civilisation, and to place our own proper equivalents in room of the dispossessed articles; and we may add that the sooner our friends in England and elsewhere grasp this, our aim and design, and accommodate themselves to it, the better it will be—the greater the harmony, and the fewer the misunderstandings. For our parts, too, we look to the International as our activist home of the future, and not to any "British" or English-speaking Commonwealth. Racial and national, as individual, tastes differ, and all due allowance should be made for that fact. A group or assemblage of peoples "bossed" by Messrs. Clynes, Barnes, Hodge, Hughes, Gompers, and Co., would afford inspiring living no doubt, but to that prospect we Celts do not happen to be attracted, and (whether wrong in this or not), deaf to those charms we shall continue to be. Our outside relations will be with the International, and the workers' world in general.

### *The Russian Constitution.*

The friends to the Russian Revolution will everywhere rejoice to hear that the power of the Soviets in that country continues to increase, and that certain asperities and extravagances that characterised the inauguration of the new rule are tending to disappear in conformity to the mild and humane genius of the Slav character. It is encouraging to be told by persons well qualified to judge of the present position of affairs in Russia that the Bol-

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shevick Government has behind it the vast majority of the people of Russia, and that the friends of Imperialism and Capitalism stand little chance of effecting that return to the evil political and social conditions of other days, which they are known to have plotted in the hope of overthrowing the blessed work of the Revolution. News of this kind is distinctly encouraging, and we hope it may soon be followed by a full, true, and particular account of the Russian Constitution, done by some one that is qualified to draw up the necessary particulars, and who possesses the desirable degree of sympathy for, and insight into, the Russian character. Speaking at large, it seems to us that rule by Soviets is a very good idea, being a sound democratic expedient, and we hope it may prosper. In our last issue we referred to the evils of delegated power, and in that connexion, spoke of the necessity of establishing complete popular control of the machinery of government. The more immediate and direct the power of the People the better, and the more the popular opportunities of exerting that power (in conformity with Rousseau's maxim that "the People cannot delegate its power") are multiplied, the better. To secure these so necessary constitutional ends, the Soviets seem to us to be admirably contrived and constituted affairs; and we hope that in the new Scotland that is to bloom after the war, our own parallel suggestion of provincial parliaments with a high-parliament or National Council—composed of elements drawn from these popular assemblies—*über alles* will take effect in due course. In the United States, the tendency of the Federal Government to usurp on the rights and privileges of the States has not been corrected in sufficient measure, in spite of the existence of the Supreme Court. *Expertus loquor*: the blemishes of that Constitution—otherwise respectable enough—should be had in view when we are come to determine our own.

### *The German Future.*

The annexation by Germany of the provinces of Lithuania, Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia gives pointed occasion to a reflexion which must have occurred to many thinking minds since that country began to swallow up her neighbours. What effect will these impudent annexations, undertaken, according to the Vice-Chancellor von Payer, "in order to assure the security of our frontiers with regard to Russia," have on the future of the Con-



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stitution of the German Empire ? That empire, as every schoolboy knows, and many people of mature age need constantly to be reminded, is a Confederacy. It is true that in the German Confederacy, Prussia is in place of "predominant partner," and in so far as that arrangement prevents a true balance of the powers constituting the group, the Confederacy in question is not a true Confederacy. Nevertheless, viewed in the light shed by the present war, it should appear to be the fact that, as well for defensive as offensive purposes, a Confederacy (though by no means a perfect one) is a vastly superior form of government to a monarchy or a republic wherein centralised rule obtains. One after the other the centralised governments of Europe ranged against Germany have either gone down completely before the arms of that Confederacy, or have been so far exhausted by the same means that it is safe to say (Dora permitting), that only American intervention can now, humanly speaking, save them from that fate to which their less fortunate prototypes have already succumbed. The interesting question is, however : "What effect will the recent German annexations have on the future of the Constitution of that Confederacy ?" It is obvious that the more lands and peoples Germany annexes to herself the greater will be the ultimate disturbance to that "balance" of power by which the Confederacy is sustained, and it is a fair deduction from this hypothesis that the more that balance is disturbed the more will it be disturbed in a manner prejudicial to the particular interests of Prussia, the at present dominating factor of the whole group. Pursuing this line of argument, we are sorely tempted to go about to prove that the true interest of those who are fighting for Freedom and Civilisation etc., consists in allowing Germany to appropriate as much of other people's property as she can, on the assumption and in the belief, that it is in a surfeit of that kind that the germ or principle of her own undoing, as a conquering power, resides. At all events, whatever may be said for or against the adoption of counsel which is plainly heroic rather than perfect, there can be, we imagine, little doubt that if Germany "expands" in consequence of the war, she will do so to the undoing of that force from which her aggressive militarism springs.

The political genius of a true Confederacy, as opposed to that of States whose government is centralised, is unwarlike, since the tendency of the parts of which it is composed is always pacific, or, if not positively pacific, is at all events averse from foreign military

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adventure. The existing German Confederacy is not a true one, because, under it, the powers of Prussia (the "predominant partner") are out of all just proportion to those enjoyed and exerted by the rest of the elements constituting that hegemony. Probably, the "expansion" of Germany at the expense of her neighbours would, by increasing the number of the States constituting the group, so far tend to redress the balance as to raise that scale which is at present too much depressed to a level consistent with the establishment and preservation of a true and proper equipoise of power. In that event, the probability is that Prussia would be taught, or herself learn, both moderation and manners, Socialism stepping in and completing the disarmament of the now far too powerful and bellicose "predominant partner." Meantime we note with interest that the war has at last largely resolved itself into an armed struggle between the two great Confederacies of Christendom. The Centralised governments ranged against Germany are already either gone completely to the wall, or are forced by circumstances over which they have no control, to take a back seat.

The natural inclination of mankind is to peace, and to accommodation when peace is threatened to be disturbed; and inasmuch as the Federal system of government favours those natural tendencies or impulses in man more than does centralised rule, so is the first much to be preferred to the last.

### *The Case of Mr. John MacLean.*

"Savage sentences" are all the vogue nowadays, the judges heartily subscribing to the vulgar mania for "reprisals." For publicly expressing sentiments similar to those that have been the mainstay of the Russian Revolution, and for which the most respectable precedent could be found, our fellow-countryman, Mr. John MacLean, has been condemned to five years' imprisonment. We hope that the efforts of those who are concerting measures with a view to the reduction (if not the squashing) of this harsh sentence will be successful.

At his trial in Edinburgh, Mr. MacLean refused to plead, and thereafter addressed the Judge and Jury in his own behalf. For our part, however, we think that here was thrown aside a good opportunity of raising the whole question of the Scottish validity of the Act under which Mr. MacLean was charged. That Act (the

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now notorious "Defence of the Realm Act") proceeds from the Treaty of Union of 1707, and we regret that Mr. MacLean did not reject the jurisdiction of the Court which tried him, on the ground that as the Treaty in question is null and void, the law was acting *ultra vires* in the matter of his trial. Mr. Maclean could have plead (1) that the Treaty on which the Act founds is bogus : on such a topic so good a democrat as Mr. MacLean would be worth hearing ; (2) that assuming it to be valid, nevertheless it was violated by England almost as soon as it was made ; and (3) that assuming it to be neither invalid nor inviolate, nevertheless the terms of the Treaty contain nothing authorising the Act under which he was charged. It is obvious that a tripartite defence of this kind would have given the public, which fees the Judge who tried Mr. MacLean, some sort of run for the money which that functionary draws, besides constituting a constitutional *cause celebre* of a case which, because it was not properly handled, differs little from the many that have occurred under somewhat similar circumstances.

It cannot be too often insisted on that the so-called Act of Union of 1707 was a *Treaty*. It was officially styled so by the Scottish and English Governments at the time of its making, and the modern habit of referring to it as a mere "Act," instead of a *Treaty*, should be stoutly resisted by everyone capable of drawing the necessary distinction between the nature of the two instruments. Mr. MacLean's trial was disappointing, as much by reason of his own failure to rise to the occasion as because of its event ; but we live in hopes that the question of the propriety of the presence in Scotland of the notorious 'Dora,' and her disreputable sire, may yet be raised in the Scottish Courts. If ever that question is raised, and handled as it should be, we can promise that sair sanct for the Treaty, John Bull, an exceedingly *mauvais quatre d'heure*.

### *The Ulster Problem.*

Many of our readers will doubtless recollect that in the series of articles entitled "Enter the Celt," which we published not long ago, the writer of the contribution dealing with Ireland advocated the application of the federal solution to the problem represented by the difficulty of reconciling Ulster to an autonomous Ireland. Our contributor's proposal was that Soviets, or local Parliaments, should be erected in each of the four provinces of Ireland, the High-

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Parliament of the whole country to be composed of delegates drawn from the provincial assemblies. If adopted, this method—which has much to recommend it from the historical point of view, as, also, by reason of the natural bent of the Celtic political genius and temperament—would possess the further advantage of placing the government of those important divisions of the country in the hands of the people inhabiting them, and so tend to prevent the government of Ireland from becoming too much centralised, which is one of the principal dangers that confronts modern democracy in those countries wherein single parliaments are the rule. We observe with interest that in a speech delivered at the recent annual meeting of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce, the President, Mr. H. M. Pollock (who represented that body at the Anglo-Irish Convention) spoke in favour of an autonomous Ulster. It is true that in the same speech Mr. Pollock singularly confused the issues, and incidentally shewed himself to be but a very imperfect politician, by professing to regard his province's claim to self-government as a just parallel to the Scottish and Welsh demands for national autonomy. The cases are by no means parallel, and Mr. Pollock must be sharply reminded that they are not ; but whilst we ridicule his province's pretensions to set itself up for a separate nation, we welcome his amusing bravado, and would urge our Irish kinsfolk to improve it to the best advantage. A federal scheme of government in Ireland should mightily ease and simplify the situation, so far as the northern province of that country is concerned. It would give them that local-control for which the Orangemen are always clamouring, and further, should provide them with those "safeguards" against the oppression and exploitation of themselves by the rest of their fellow-countrymen which these unhappy persons are accustomed to associate to an autonomous Ireland. Many ways to accommodate the Irish difficulty have been tried, and have failed as often as they have been set on foot ; but there remains one way which, we believe, has never yet been tried, and which we think to be well worth adventuring. Our solution is that the whole Irish nation should draw to a head, and settle the problem of the government and political status of their country *for themselves*, independently of all foreign interference. Provided this course were pursued, and a federal scheme of government for the country were made the basis of the negotiations between the various political parties in Ireland, we see no reason why the "Irish difficulty"



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should not soon become an affair of the past. Greater political problems than this have been attacked and solved before now, by means not less simple and reasonable than those which we now advocate.

In the speech to which we have already drawn attention, Mr. Pollock further said, "that the essence of the situation after all was that the United Kingdom was a single economic area." We agree. We agree, too, with the dictum of *The Highland News*, which, in a recent article on "Home Rule All Round," said that self-government for Scotland, without fiscal autonomy, would not be worth the having. We go further, however, than this writer, our opinion being that autonomy, without a complete break with the existing Capitalist system, would be little to the advantage of our country. The abolition of "the single (Capitalist) area" must either accompany the restoration of independence or shortly follow it. There can be no alternative to that conclusion so far as the Scottish democrats are concerned.

### *Whiggery and Priggery.*

For a first-class Whig-Prig or Prig-Whig, commend us to the American correspondent of the London *Daily News*. This writer, who bears the now supremely fashionable name of Wilson, was recently in Canada, and was there drawn to offer some comments touching the French Canadians, *a propos* their spirited resistance to Conscription. The following is an extract from one of the homilies of Wilson the Lesser: "Compared with American Catholics, French Canadians are intensely mediaeval, chiefly because so many are cut off by the ecclesiastical control of education from the advantage of the English language." A greater English Whig than even Mr. P. W. Wilson—we mean Hallam the historian—was accustomed to refer to the Gaelic-speaking inhabitants of Scotland as "savages," and the Whig tendency to that form of priggery which thinks to rule outside the pale of learning and good manners all who have not the gift of the English tongue, is discoverable in thousands of pamphlets, histories, and other writings bearing the mark of that particular political beast. It is true that Hallam was too good a scholar (or alternatively, not prig enough) to commit Mr. P. W. Wilson's blunder of confounding the so-called "dark ages" with mediaeval times in general, but in other respects it must be allowed that the English man of letters conformed to type as handsomely as the

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English journalist does. The characteristic touch by which the English language is implied to be the source of all polite perfection is in the best Whig-prig manner, and shows how firmly rooted in the English mind and nature is that superstition which presupposes the superiority of the other "blonde beast" over the rest of the nations of the earth and their belongings. We hope that the French Canadians, while not despising whatever educational advantage may be drawn from contact with English or any other culture, will zealously preserve and improve their own. As for the bogey of mediaevalism with which the *Daily News* scribe attempts to frighten them, we would remind him, and others whom it may concern, that Hallam, who was of his own political persuasion, has candidly acknowledged the many obligations which modern politics and learning lie under, as regards those ages which shallow and ill-informed journalists of the Wilsonian type are fond to dismiss as immeasurably ignorant and superlatively unenlightened. There should be wholesome discipline for the average English mind in the reflexion that at a time when the pagan ancestors of Messrs. Wilson & Hallam were running about the back woods of northern Germany, wild, naked, and unashamed, the "savages" of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales were supporting a respectable civilisation.

### *The Welsh Titus Oates.*

The political career of Mr. Lloyd George is speculatively interesting from the point of view of its probable, and possible, duration, rather than on account of the subject matter which a consideration of that devious performance affords. How long will the English people consent to be ruled by a man whose sole political stock-in-trade consists in a plethora of political shifts and tricks, such as no one who has the least honesty can applaud, or, having the least intelligence, can fail to penetrate. The bogus German-Irish plot of this shoddy and unscrupulous political adventurer is quite of a piece with the rest of his public career, and the only thing about both that amazes us is that modern England should produce so many blockheads ready to applaud the one and swallow the other.

### *Ireland and Physical Force.*

Some adventures there are in our system resort to which is

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only to be excused by the complete success of the event ; and of this sort or class of adventures is armed rebellion. It is obvious, therefore, that no rule can be laid down by which settled criterions can be established by which to fix the precise measure of that probability of ultimate success which must pre-exist in respect of all cases wherein an appeal to arms is contemplated. In this respect, each separate case must be a law unto itself, and for that law no sanction will be looked for outside the moral and material phenomena going to form the quality which we designate "success." The Easter-week rising in Ireland was hopeless from the first, and for that reason we condemned it. Our counsel, when and where sought, has been uniformly exerted in favour of the preservation of peace, by which we think that Ireland stands to gain more in the long run than she can hope to do, her circumstances being what they are, by adopting a different policy and method. This counsel we have tendered to the *Sinn Féin* leaders on many occasions, and though our correspondence, as our sympathies, are necessarily engaged to that party, yet we have no hesitation in saying that, had we been in the confidence of Sir Edward Carson and his friends at the time when they were going about to foment a rebellion in Ireland, we should have tendered them the same disinterested advice.

Our counsel, then, to Ireland continues to be, "eschew violence ; afford no excuse to those who want but the slenderest one in order to shoot ; strengthen the *Sinn Féin* and Labour Organisations, and seek to make friends at the courts of the International and the Peace Conference."

### *Jacobites and Williamites.*

A nobleman recently protested within our hearing that had he been alive during the eighteenth century he would certainly have been "out" in the Jacobite risings in behalf of the Stuart claimants to the thrones of these kingdoms. Knowing our retrospective "rebel" to be, though a Scotsman, yet a firm stickler for the existing English Constitution, an enemy to Ireland, and a warm friend to the Union connexion, we took occasion to enquire how it was that the confession above recorded had escaped him, seeing that participation in the Jacobite risings must necessarily have involved him in an armed attempt, supported by French arms and money, to undo that very Union which he now professed to regard as the

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foundation-stone of his whole political faith and world. Our ingenious nobleman, after a few vain shifts to find a way out of the difficulty which, somewhat unkindly we must confess, we had created for him, collapsed in silence, to the obvious amusement of the whole company. This anecdote, trifling though it may seem, should suffice to cool the ardour of those many Scotsmen who are wont to pride themselves on their Jacobite ancestry, but who when confronted with alleged German-Irish plots for the overthrow of that Union which their forebears regarded as their own and their country's greatest enemy, are very apt to allow present political heats to dissipate whatever modicum of logic they may possess. It is as well that people who inhabit glass houses of their own choosing, should be reminded occasionally that they would do wisely to respect the vulgar injunction touching the throwing of stones.

### *The Capital and Mr. Lloyd George.*

A physician called to give evidence in the unsavoury Pemberton-Billing case stated that sexual degenerates are accustomed to hold the most extravagant language touching things physical and material, rapturously styling these "beautiful" and so forth, where, to the sane eye, no beauty whatever is to be discerned. The political degenerate would often appear to be the victim of a somewhat similar tendency to exaggeration, only, in his case, it is things spiritual and religious that call forth his ill-regulated ecstasies. Thus, when Mr. Lloyd George was recently in Edinburgh he raved about "the chariot of the Lord," and, projecting himself into the bosom of the assembled reverend Abrahams in Presbyterianism, startled by the vehemence and profusion of his scriptural diction, quite as much as he edified (and bubbled) those ponderous worthies. We leave it to Wales to look after her own erring and straying political black-sheep when the General Election shall come; but, in this connexion, we desire to point out that the Scottish democracy has a solemn duty to perform, and that is, to throw Mr. Asquith out of the political trenches in Fife. Mr. Robert Leicester Harmsworth, whose devoted services in behalf of his own insignificance Lord Northcliffe has recently crowned and rewarded with a baronetcy, is another Englishman whose room we desire considerably more than his company.



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### *The MacLaughlin Mission.*

The Editor of this periodical recently contributed to the lively pages of *The Voice of Labour* an article drawing attention to the MacLaughlin semi-secret Mission to these countries. It was perhaps inevitable that the American Jingo and Capitalistic party should seek to draw closer, under cover of the war, the ties that connect it with the corresponding activities on this side the water. An Anglo-American ascendancy, based on Capitalism and Imperialism, would constitute just as odious, contemptible, and ridiculous a form of tyranny as would do an ascendancy composed of German Junkers or Japanese *commis voyageurs*. The democratic world in particular, and society in general, is sick to death of ascendancies, and wants no "boss," be he red, white, black, or yellow. In fine, the idea of placing the world under the benevolent rule of an Anglo-American Capitalist and Imperial International Trust is, to us, a shocking one, and we invite all and sundry to assist us in pricking the monstrous bubble.

### *"Agreed" History while you Wait.*

The same interview which let the public into the secret of the Anglo-American Capitalist-imperial pact and plot, informs us, through the loquacious channel of the Anglo-Saxon, Professor Mac Laughlin, that the same mission thinks to perpetrate an "Agreed history of the English-speaking world." We doubt not the ability of the "Department of History in the University of Chicago" to turn out an "agreed" history (or any number of them for that matter), on that or any other imaginable subject with the same business-like facility and despatch as characterise that city's production of the domestic sausage. It is said that the pig which enters Chicago a mere pig, departs from it in less time than it would take to relate the story of its successive metamorphoses, in the shape of "canned goods" of prime quality. And that being so, we can well believe that the Department of History in the University of Chicago would, under the able superintendence of Professor MacLaughlin, prove itself equal to the task of applying pork-butchers' methods to the production of history. The raw material, in the shape of authentic history, would doubtless enter "the Department" at one end and emerge, after sundry manipulations, in the form

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of "agreed" historical goods at the other. The idea is worthy Professor MacLaughlin, Chicago, and the Anglo-Saxons in general; and we shall watch the experiment with interest.

### *The Monstrous Army of Political Hostages.*

The recent cynical distribution of "honours" and titular distinctions should suffice to kill with popular ridicule a system of exerting political influence through private channels which has long been a scandal and a disgrace to these countries. The system in question is, in certain respects, very similar to that which has to do with the funding of the public monies, a principal axiom of both being that the wider the net is spread, the bigger the "bag" of tools and dupes, and the greater the resulting benefit by way of "consolidation" in respect to the existing establishment and its myriads of "vested interests." It cannot, therefore, be too much, or too often, insisted on that those who accept of "honours" and titular distinctions at the hands of the existing establishment pass, *ipso facto*, by reason thereof, into the ranks of its political hostages, and so are lost to the cause of democracy, and all that it stands for. These remarks apply as much to the Soapboiler who is made a peer, as they do to the Labour "Leader" who succumbs to the more subtle attractions of the O.B.E. Moreover, no Scottish democrat worth his salt should ever think to consent to being dubbed a J.P. In the first place, Justices of the Peace are foreign to Scottish jurisprudence, and in the second, this alien honour or distinction has been too often used to further political ends to render it otherwise than suspect of every thinking democrat. As the Editor of this periodical has, through no fault of his own, hitherto gone about the world burdened with a feudal title, and a foreign rendering of his name, these are to say that he has decided to discard both, and will in future transact his "bit" clad doucelly and soberly, as to nomenclature, in the linguistic garments of his country and ancestry.

### *The Waters of Lochaber.*

"It's a far cry to Loch Awe"; already in point of time it seems also to be a long cry to Lochaber. Events happen so quickly in an era of over-lapping world crises, that the rejection by the House of Lords of the Aluminium Company's Water-Powers Bill is

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rapidly becoming an event of the past. The episode was an important one, however, and certain aspects of the controversy merit a passing word of comment. Readers will doubtless be familiar with the main outlines of the scheme. The British Aluminium Company, whose headquarters are in London, has already secured control of a considerable volume of water in Argyllshire, where a flourishing industrial village has been established. But the Company is not content with its present possessions. Like *Oliver Twist*, it has been asking for more, and the directors have been turning covetous eyes towards the great water supplies of Inverness-shire. The scheme prepared by the Company's engineers was an ambitious one. Briefly put, the proposal was to impound the waters of Loch Laggan and Loch Treig, together with certain tributaries of the river Spean. The waters thus collected were to be led by tunnel and aqueduct through the mountain chain of which Ben Nevis is the centre to the Company's power station on the shores of Loch Leven. About 70,000 horse-power would thus be placed at the disposal of the Company for the purpose of developing the aluminium industry (and incidentally of earning dividends for the share-holders). The scheme involved not only the transference of a vast volume of water from one watershed to another; it meant also the diversion of the West Highland Railway and of the main county road. The Spean for eight or ten miles of its course would have been transformed into a dry ditch, as Provost Shand of Fort-William has pointed out, and the natural resources of an important Highland community handed over to an English trading company. Small wonder if the people of the Highlands were up in arms against so outrageous a proposal. That the magnificent Highland scenery of Badenoch and Lochaber was to be smudged and disfigured by English commercialism was evidently, in the eyes of the promoters of the scheme, but as dust in the balance compared with the earning of big dividends for the Aluminium Company. But the predatory designs of the vandals have been "nipped in the bud" (the metaphor is a trifle mixed, but it will pass), thanks in great measure to Provost Shaw and the Scottish peers at Westminster.

That the people of Lochaber have certain national rights in the water-power of the district—apart altogether from the questionable claims of the landed proprietors—is a proposition that admits of no dispute. The people of Fort-William were and are entitled to a voice in the settlement of a question which affects so vitally the welfare of the district. But the development of the water-power

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of the Highlands is a bigger question even than the harnessing of the Spean at Loch Laggan for the purpose of earning dividends for a London company. There is an immense wealth of power in our Highland rivers, which at present is running to waste. The development of these national resources is a matter of vital importance to the whole of Scotland. It is essentially a question which should be dealt with by a Scottish National Parliament, with the assistance and co-operation of the provincial Councils of the districts more immediately affected. To invite English peers to pass judgment on a purely Scottish question of this kind is a perversion of the principles of nationality. The lairds of Scotland have filched the land from the people by methods which in many cases will not bear examination. They established their claim to the land of Scotland by—

The good old rule and simple plan,  
That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can.

And not to the land only, but to the minerals under the earth, the fish in the rivers, and the birds in the air. It is all the more desirable, therefore, that the people of Scotland should retain under national control the great store of wealth-producing energy represented by the water-power of the Highlands. Moreover, as Mr. Macniven, S.S.C., the land agent for the burgh of Fort-William, pointed out recently, there is a prospect that the water-power of the Highlands might be used "in connection with the proposals of the Committee which was considering the establishment of large centres for the generation of electricity, with a view to the conservation of coal." The suggestion is an important one; indeed there is no reason why the development of the water-power should not be taken up in the form of a national and homogenous scheme for Scotland. That does not in any way invalidate the claim of Lochaber to a voice in the control of the water-power of that district. That right would be duly exercised by the proposed provincial councils for the Highland areas, while the National Parliament would preserve and protect the privileges of the people of Scotland as a whole. The water-power of the Highlands would, if properly developed, suffice to supply electricity for industrial purposes for the greater part of Scotland. To hand over the control of that water-power to an individual Company would be a piece of unparalleled political folly. The national resources of Scotland—land as



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well as water—should be owned and controlled by the people of Scotland acting through a National Parliament and local administrative bodies.

### *Giant "It Cant-be-Done."*

It is not often that we find ourselves in agreement with anything that Mr. Garvin may say in the *London Observer*. He has been recently engaged in blowing up the coal of "Federalism" in that organ; but his puffings leave us coldly unconvinced. He wishes to see established National Parliaments for England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, with an Imperial Parliament "over all." The first part of this programme we necessarily favour; the second, we do not. On many excellent grounds we distrust "Imperial Parliaments," and we see no reason to believe that the institution Mr. Garvin and his friends are desirous to establish would be any less essentially "Imperial" (and therefore objectionable), than such privileged assemblies are wont to be. Our own view of this matter is, that the future relations (fiscal and otherwise) with one another of the various nationalities presently comprising the Empire should be determined by the several peoples concerned, and preserved in being by those peoples themselves, without the intervention of any *ad hoc* authority. But there is one statement contained in one of Mr. Garvin's recent weekly rigmaroles with which we are in perfect agreement. That verbose publicist says:—"Why should conventional politicians of the pre-war stripe mumble\* . . . It is merely useless to say of the federal project of Home Rule All Round that 'it can't be done.' We shall show that it must be done, and far sooner than is imagined, either by conventional thinkers, who always resist every new project, . . . or by the sort of partisan who consistently declines to think at all," etc., etc. We strongly sympathise with Mr. Garvin in his tilts against the sort of humour which has undone more States and overturned more thrones than all the political earthquakes put together have succeeded in doing up to these presents. Giant "It Can't-be-Done" has wrecked more political homes and blighted more fair political hopes than even the

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\* If this is a stroke at members of the House of Commons, we opine that they probably mumble because their legislative teeth have all been drawn, but it is scarcely good manners in Mr. Garvin to draw public attention to the physical defects and deficiencies of his friends.—Ed., *Scottish Review*.

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stupidity and knavery of princes and rulers have done ; and we wish Mr. Garvin all imaginable success in his efforts to lay the monster.

### *Dormant, but not Dead.*

For national and popular disillusionment there is no more potent agent than war, and, certainly, no war has ever effected so much in the way of disillusionment as that in which we are at present engaged. For one thing it has opened the official eye to see the folly of the emigration propaganda. We hear no word now of the movement euphemistically described by the *Morning Post* as a "fair and favourable opportunity" to returning soldiers "of settling down in any of the Colonies they may select."

In the first stages of the mighty struggle, the brilliant idea occurred to the landocracy and their myrmidons that those who had left the country to fight should be prevented from returning forever more to their native straths and glens. Seeing they had got them furth of these kingdoms they meant to keep them away. But the war has been more protracted and costly than was expected, and it has exacted a heavier toll of our manhood than these countries can well afford. The result is that the capitalist and the landowner are at cross purposes with respect to emigration. The latter wishes to get rid of the people, but the former wants the returned warriors in order that they may man his mills and factories. It would appear that, for the moment, the capitalist is getting the best of the argument, for we find that emigration has become almost a forbidden word in official quarters. It is recognised that before the cannon have belched forth their final salvo, these countries will be getting unpleasantly close to bankruptcy in muscle and sinew, as well as other commodities. It is felt that we cannot supply our Colonial friends with hewers of wood and drawers of water until the needs of our own docks and workshops are fully and amply met. It is feared that some time may elapse before the shortage of labour will cease to be a disturbing factor in the industrial situation. Until there is enough and to spare of good capable workers, the emigration "big push" must be summarily and completely abandoned. In this arrangement the landowning class must reluctantly acquiesce.

We have said that emigration was a settled policy of officialdom in the early stages of the war—when an imminent and triumphant entry to Berlin loomed largely and splendidly in the capitalistic eye. Readers will remember that a Committee was appointed jointly

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and severally by the English Government and the Royal Imperial Institute with the object of promoting emigration, and peopling the colonies beyond the seas. The moving spirit in that large and influential committee was the well-known novelist and Imperialist, Mr. Rider Haggard. Only two Scotsmen could be induced to take part in the dismal crusade. These two were Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland of Sauchie, Stirlingshire, and Mr. Ian MacPherson, M.P. for Ross-shire. We think this committee applied itself to a piece of unnecessary and superfluous work. With little official stimulus, emigration had been going on to a pretty lively tune during the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war. The Colonies and their glib pimps lured men and women away by tens of thousands. It may be interesting and useful to adduce a few statistics. As from April, 1912, we have had figures based upon definite statements by travellers that they are, on the one hand, leaving the country to take up premanent residence abroad, or, on the other, entering the country to take up permanent residence. By this new count, in the first seven months of 1913, as many as 263,390 natives emigrated from these countries, while 48,838 re-entered to stay permanently. This gives us a net emigration in seven months of 214,552. During the whole of 1913, the net emigration exceeded 300,000. Of the purely Scottish emigrants of that year 39,811 went to Canada, an increase of 8000 over the figures of 1912, and more than 7000 above the record of 1911. From the beginning of 1911 till the end of 1913, no fewer than 199,536 emigrants sailed from Glasgow. This was a pretty heavy toll taken of poor Scotland. Yet Rider Haggard, Ian MacPherson, and the rest of the motley gang meant to leave no stone unturned to shunt off our returning soldiers wholesale "to any of the Colonies they might select." To aid the Haggards and MacPhersons in their squalid work we saw coming forward those at the head of the Prince of Wales' Fund—a fund subscribed to by the very poor as well as the very rich in all parts of the Three Kingdoms. We were told by General Booth, of The Salvation Army, that the administrators of the fund had promised him over £50,000 towards his scheme to "emigrate single women and widows to the Dominions Overseas." One wonders if the Prince of Wales was privy to this unsavoury project.

What the English Government and the Imperialists have tried before, they will try again—when action is justified by "economic conditions." We must watch post-war developments with a very

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keen and constant eye. There is in this country plenty land going waste for lack of cultivation, and the returning braves of Scotland must say to Mr. Ian MacPherson and his confederates that ancient Caledonia is the colony "that they select," and that they will not leave it without knowing the reason why.

### *Should it be Repealed?*

The need for repealing the ill-starred Smallholders (Scotland) Act of 1911 is urgent and manifest. It has failed absolutely to realise the hopes engendered by its preamble. Up to the close of 1914 the applications for new holdings and the enlargement of existing holdings numbered 9330, being 5473 for new holdings and 3857 for enlargements. At the end of three years after the passing of the Act, only 434 of the applicants for new holdings got land, or one in twelve, and 239, or one in sixteen, got enlargements. To secure the settlement of 434 new holders, and the enlargement of 239 existing holdings, the Government disbursed £377,738, or between £500 and £600 per holding. Comment is superfluous.

After the Act had been in operation for three years, what do we find? In the year ending 31st December, 1914, the total number of holdings in Scotland exceeding one acre in size was 77,150—a decrease of 238, as compared with 1913. In 1914, the area under cereals was the smallest on record. Wheat, oats, and barley were grown on 1,174,210 acres, a decrease of 16,738 acres, or 1·4 per cent., as compared with 1913. On the other hand, the total area returned as mountain or heath land used for grazing amounted to 9,147,559 acres, an increase of 29,663, as compared with the previous year. Within the last thirty years a quarter of a million acres in Scotland have been withdrawn from the plough, and during the last ten years 123,000 acres in Scotland were let out of cultivation. Surely we have at home an excellent field for the exercise of our colonising zeal. When our own desolate tracks are duly peopled it will be time enough to talk of emigration.

Even in the face of an imminent and serious shortage of food, those large areas lying fallow in Scotland have not been permitted to be touched by the plough. Golf courses have been turned up and so have public parks and breathing spaces in towns, but the huge play-grounds of the landocracy are sacred to ferns and rushes, crows and falcons, deer and rabbits. So much is the land locked up that it is even deemed necessary to convert cemeteries into potato patches. Such a course was actually agreed upon by the Cemetery



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Committee of Bonhill Parish Council, the decision having been arrived at almost unanimously. The weird discussion was fully reported in the *Glasgow Herald* of 26th March, 1917.

*A "Union" without force, without sense.*

An obscure rump of busy-bodies, styling itself "The Catholic Union of Great Britain," has recently been making itself even more supremely ridiculous than its composition inclines it to be, by taking on itself to censure the Irish Hierarchy on account of that body's resistance to Conscription. Probably not one person out of a hundred had ever heard of this absurd *junta* of Tooley Street Catholic Tailors before the present incident arose, and lest the title borne by this usurping English Society should lead the simple to suppose that it has come sort of connexion with, or standing in, Catholic Scotland, we hasten to say that it has not, and is not in the least degree likely to acquire either one or the other. In point of fact, its very name is a thundering impertinence, which appears the more plain after its recent saucy invasion of the ecclesiastical sphere, and impudent attempt to excommunicate the Hierarchy of Ireland in name of "Great Britain." When Leo XIII. restored her Hierarchy to Scotland, he very sensibly ignored the Unions. Catholic Scotland is directly under the charge of the Holy See, and has no ecclesiastical connexion with, or dependence on, England. Thus, when Cardinal Bourne issued his recent letter to "the Nation" it was to the English people, and not to the Scots and Irish, that he very properly addressed his remarks, though certain journalistic *ignorami* in this country imagined that by the expression "the nation," the nations in general of these islands were intended, and sapiently commented accordingly. It is a pity that this very ambiguous (and inaccurate) expression of "the nation," which is far too much in vogue nowadays, cannot be buried along with the bores who use it.

### *Celtic Originals.*

Our current impression contains an interesting and scholarly article on the racial complexion of England. It is our intention to publish a succession of papers from the same pen on the subject of the racial complexion of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, the want of succinct and accurate information on those heads having never been greater than it is at the present day, judging by what passes in

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ordinary conversation, and more especially in the periodical press, whenever these important topics are raised. On these matters, the wildest and wierdest notions are apt to be indulged, as well by the public as by the journalists who cater for their daily intellectual needs, and though, meantime, the scholastic home of the Celt is Germany, yet that fact shall not prevent us from doing the little that we can do in order to "create an atmosphere" for Celtic studies in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. We sincerely hope that, among post-war reforms, will be found a common disposition and a general zeal to restore to our seats of learning and to our national culture those facilities for the prosecution of Celtic studies which obtained in Scotland previous to the religious disturbances of the sixteenth century. At the present time, Scotland might be destitute of all racial originals whatsoever, judging by the little attention which these important topics receive at our hands, and by the crass stupidity of the little that is uttered concerning them in our newspapers, and by the Scottish press in general. To show the flagrant nature of the neglect of which we here complain, it may be mentioned that the best living Scottish Celtic scholar (a man whose name is a household word in certain learned German circles) is presently employed in wasting his time and talents by sorting letters at the War Office in London! If the "Huns" were guilty of tolerating or conniving at atrocities of that kind, how shrilly would the voices of many of us be raised against them! The Scottish nation must be restored to the bosom of those "humanities" from which a gloomy and barbarous Calvinism tore it about the year 1560, and not the least of several ways proper to that end is the revival of native learning, and the encouragement of Celtic studies.

### *A Reflexion for the Times.*

Guicciardini has the following in his *Ricordi*: "Messer Antonio da Venafrà was wont to say, and said well, 'put seven or eight wise men together and they become so many fools, since, not agreeing, they rather bring things to a dispute than to a conclusion.'" If seven or eight wise men are like to make fools of themselves, when drawn to a head, what a scene of imbecility must be a Cabinet that does not number a single sage amongst its members!



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